The World Outlook On Social Transformation

World Unity

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After Manchuria—*Rhee*
China and Japan — World Crisis—*Clark*

Pacific School of Religion Berkeley, Calif.

Interpreting the spirit of the new age

China's Changing Culture—*Rawlinson*
Maitreya—*Roerich*

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A STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

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WORLD UNITY MAGAZINE, as its title implies, will endeavor to interpret and record those significant changes in present-day thought which mark the trend toward worldwide understanding and a humanized civilization able to release the finer aspirations of mankind.

Its essential purpose is to make accessible to awakened minds the views and conclusions of creative workers on subjects of truly general interest and importance. The emergence of new and higher values in philosophy, science, religion, ethics and the arts from the alembic of universal unrest represents the focal point of vision for World Unity Magazine.

To create a medium capable of responding faithfully, without prejudice of race, creed, class or nationality, to the uprush of the spirit of the age wherever or however manifested—this is the ideal to which World Unity Magazine is devoted; and faith in humanity arising at last to assert its organic oneness, the foundation on which it stands.

Constructive suggestions will be heartily welcomed from progressive individuals and organizations to assist the Magazine to fulfill its function as a clearing-house of ideas and plans reflecting the organic trends of the age toward world unity and cooperation. The Magazine will endeavor to publish significant articles of a stimulating character, without assuming responsibility for its contributors' views.

WORLD UNITY

INTERPRETING
THE SPIRIT OF THE AGE

JOHN HERMAN RANDALL, *Editor*
HORACE HOLLEY, *Managing Editor*

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Tomb of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen
THE NEW NATIONAL SHRINE OF CHINA

THE CHALLENGE TO RELIGION

EDITORIAL

THERE is a wide-spread conviction that the organizations of religion, of whatever name, are in no sense playing the part or exerting the influence that they might in this critical reconstruction period of the world. This feeling is not born of captious criticism but rather of a deep and earnest desire that religion might measure up to its great opportunity in these eventful times.

However blindly or vaguely, it is clearly evident that nations and men are reaching out after a better understanding, a closer cooperation and a freer fellowship in the life of mankind as a whole. The new age of science and the resultant new industrial civilization have created an inter-dependence among all peoples never known in the past. For weal or for woe we are all bound inextricably together and must inevitably rise or fall together. What is needed, and what must come, is the gradual reorganization of human relations all along the line based on the new fact of our human oneness and inter-dependence. The things that are checking and delaying progress in this direction are old and tyrannical habits of thought, archaic political systems and obsolete economic theories. But a still greater obstacle is the mental attitude and spirit which men and nations sustain to one another. So long as the old prejudices—racial, religious and nationalistic—exist, just so long will hatred, bitterness and intolerance delay the coming of the consciousness of the deep meaning of our human oneness.

It is significant that among the younger philosophers of France, for example, increasing emphasis is laid upon "international solidarity" and world unity. The same is true of the thinkers in other countries. In his recent book, Henri Bergson, outstanding among the older French philosophers, stresses the need of such

solidarity and unity, and then proceeds to point out that only through a changed attitude and a new spirit, can the desired ends be attained. Bergson further makes clear that the changing of attitude and the creation of a new spirit is peculiarly the function of religion.

Religion of the prophetic type has always looked forward to the coming of a new and better day; it has always proclaimed without fear or evasion the universal brotherhood of man; it has always sought to create the new spirit of goodwill and love toward all mankind. And it has done this quite irrespective of ecclesiastical systems, of theological creeds or of sectarian limitations.

Is it conceivable that in such an age religion is not to rise to its true prophetic mission and do its own peculiar work of changing attitudes and creating the new spirit in men and nations. This is the crucial need today and nothing but true religion can supply this need. Must religion in all lands hug so closely to the priestly type? Must it be so absorbed in the letter as to forget the spirit? Must it be so bound up with the ecclesiastical machinery and so devoted to local and parochial needs as to miss the real purpose of its existence—the proclaiming the gospel of goodwill to the ends of the earth, and the translation of that spirit into the whole range of human relationships? Must religious leaders be content to bewail the "religious indifference" of the age and the "difficult problems" of the churches—instead of pressing forward toward new goals and translating religion into terms of the spirit of the new age—the spirit of unity, of goodwill to all, of a universal brotherhood, at last possible of realization?

Surely there must be in all religions many younger men of the prophetic type who will surely come forward to stand with the few outstanding religious prophets of today. Now as never before the demand is for a prophetic religion. This alone can save religion, for this will mean the rebirth of religion as a mighty transforming power in an age which this power above all things else.

J.H.R.

ORIENT AND OCCIDENT

by

HANS KOHN

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NEW PROSPECTS IN WORLD POLITICS

Asia

UNTIL within the Nineteenth Century oriental history was local history, without connection with European events, which alone were regarded as world history. But the history of isolated oriental countries was likewise local history, without much connection with the history of other countries of the Orient. Only in the second half of the Nineteenth Century does it begin to be woven more and more into the history of the world; what happens in the Orient becomes historically significant, and through its connection with Europe its connection with isolated oriental countries is also established. Europe operates as an awakner and unifier of the Orient. This process is the last and crowning step in the universal history of the Nineteenth Century, which may be characterized as the awakening all over the world of unhistoric nations to historical activity and consciousness—that is to say, to their active inclusion in the modern economic world unity. What still appeared impossible a few decades ago has been attested as historical fact by the experience of recent years. In 1848 Friedrich Engels still considered the awakening of the non-historical nations of Eastern and Southeastern Europe as impossible, and yet awakening of the people of southern and eastern Europe has fully taken place in almost less than a half century. Today the tempo of historical evolution is still more rapid. National awakening implies, among peoples, social awakening also. Most are

powerfully stimulated by direct or indirect foreign control. "This is the great importance of foreign control, that it renders any exploitation and oppression which would otherwise be taken as a matter of fact, immediately clear and visible, and for this reason intolerable." (*Otto Bauer*).

Thus a new stage is ready for the drama of world history. On this stage a new era of human relations is beginning. The question is not so much a matter of abstract ideologies, capable of formulation, but a matter of revaluation and change of pace in modes of living themselves. Supported by the past but in constant opposition to it nevertheless, a new type of man is originating, with a new attitude towards life. Notwithstanding the fact that they are rooted in the soil of dissimilar traditions, the men of this type, owing to their broader horizons, their greater mobility and the similarity of their economic conditions, are becoming more alike and more prevalent. They are finding more and more points of contact with one another. Similarly in Europe, in comparison with Europe of one hundred and fifty years ago, the entire environment of man, and with it his type, has changed. One hundred and fifty years ago the life of the European man also, like that of the Oriental until a few decades ago, was circumscribed and determined by his native community and the agricultural life to which he was born. Then, in Europe, many centuries of comparative stagnation were followed by a general shaking up and mobilization of the collective life. The same thing is taking place today in the Orient, after many centuries of apparent torpidity. The complexity of human relations increases in a way unthought of until recently, and with it the measure of mutual dependence among all groups of humanity increases also. A factory worker in China and one in Europe go to their work from entirely different worlds, so far as their traditions are concerned, but their work will be of full value, economically, only when both perform it from similar conceptions of its value and according to similiar methods. Out of this change in the field of economics and commerce arises the problem of new forms of organization for mankind. The economic and technical development of uniform conditions in various parts of the earth is taking

place more rapidly than the discovery of new ways of life and methods of procedure in the political and social field which could support the stage of modern mankind in the theater of world history, which now covers the entire earth.

Political and economic superiority, in this new alignment of mankind, will remain with the European races for some time, and the great social and cultural impulses will proceed from them. What contribution the Orient will make to the new humanity is not to be foreseen. But it will be qualified to make this contribution only by virtue of its admission into the great brotherhood of mankind originating from Europe. Only as a member of this brotherhood does the Orient gain the consciousness of its unity, and with it the consciousness of its mission in the history of the world, even though ancient cultural traditions underlie this consciousness. Helmuthvon Glasenapp refers as follows to this unity of the Asiatic cultural sphere of China, Japan, Indo-China, Ceylon and India, inclusive: "Thus we see, in the south as in the east of Asia, forces at work which in their inmost essence represent a fundamentally concordant metaphysical doctrine—forces which are aware of one another and are already beginning to recognize the common nature of their aim. This doctrine is Hindu in origin, but in it Hinduism reaches beyond itself and rises superior to all national and social barriers. But the dawning awareness of the possession of similar metaphysical views may furnish the philosophical background for the pan-Asiatic idea, which (with its doctrine of the fundamental unity of Asia, of the community of interests of the peoples of southern and eastern Asia, and of the peoples of southern and eastern Asia, and of the necessity of rescuing Asia from foreign influences) is called upon to play a significant role in the history of the next hundred years." But this Asia of the east and south, with its 70,000,000 Mohammedans in India and its 50,000,000 Mohammedans in the Dutch East Indies is necessarily interlocked with the Islamic Orient. The Mohammedan, Dr. Mokhtar Ahmad Ansari, as president of the Indian national congress in Madras at the end of 1927, said: "Seclusion and delimitation are no longer possible. Science has annihilated distance

and wiped out boundaries. The world has become one. Events in one part of the world meet their echo in another part at once. Mutual implications of problems in the various countries of the world have entirely changed our conception of national politics. In the struggle between Europe and Asia, Asia has been injured, since Europe, united, has been able to conquer Asia's isolated parts. Our only hope for success in our efforts to destroy the forces of European imperialism and capitalism lies in the unification of the eastern peoples and in the closer interest they take in the problems confronting each one of them. Fortunately, one part of our (Indian) population is culturally related to the peoples of western Asia, while the other part has similar relationships with the countries of eastern Asia. Our economic problems are also more or less similar. Our common culture and common interests should for this reason facilitate the realization of a plan for an Asiatic alliance." And at the Indian national congress which met in Dahore two years later, the president—this time a Hindu, Jawaharlal Nehru—declared that Asia would play a decisive part in the future of world politics, that the short day of European control was drawing to a close, that Europe had ceased to be the focus of world activity and world interest, that the center of gravity had shifted to Asia and America, and that the Asiatic peoples were working jointly, with the aid of the Soviet Union, at the building of the new world.

In these words of the youthful leader of the national movement in India lies an over-simplification of the situation. But there is a kernel of truth back of them. The relation between Orient and Occident is the clearest indication, in our era, that mankind is entering into a new age of political organization, for a new clarification of the issues between imperialism and nationalism, and in so doing is entering into a new period in history. In an important study of the future of modern imperialism, Richard Schmidt has attempted to trace this historical movement, as follows: "The political system of the world has become, during the past few decades, a unitary system with all its parts and members geared together in mutual cooperation. All countries . . . . have assumed, or have at

least begun to assume, a European political physiognomy; i.e., a popular government with a written constitution, popular elective representation and organized administrative and judicial systems, and with participation in legitimate intercourse among peoples, and therefore membership in the League of Nations which, with all its defects, is demonstrating above all the unity of the political world. Bound up with their forms of government, the states of western and central Europe have, during the last centuries evolved various distinctive economic, commercial and educational policies, and on the basis of these examples we see today everywhere a dawning national consciousness and an incipient awareness of the tendency of the population to organize and govern themselves according to their own nature and inclination. In short, a psychic change has begun to take place among peoples—a change which may be characterized briefly as the transition from political passivity to political activation. The radically changed state of affairs today, in which Asia, along with every chief province of her huge aggregation of countries, is being influenced by Europe, renders clear, on a large scale, this new political outlook and change of aim. . . . In the struggle with the imperialistic powers of Europe and North America the self-achievements of the national purpose—merely local, up to now—have at least crystallized into an aim which will never again vanish from the horizon of the Asiatic and African peoples; and in the same degree in which the latter grow into feeling of having equal rights with the European powers and into the realization of the outer evidence of such an equality, the preliminary conditions for the assertion of a cultural prerogative (which is the organizing principle of an imperialistic state) must necessarily collapse."

Thus, in the mutual adjustment of the Occident and the Orient, the alteration of the historical world-picture, the progressive unification of the peoples of the earth, is taking place before our eyes. The imperialistic realms of today will resolve themselves into coherent geographic and economic groups of states, exhibiting a community of interests built up on the same pattern. The League of Nations, chiefly an alliance of European and American

states heretofore, will become more and more—owing to the growing self-dependence of India and the inclusion of modern oriental states, among which India and Iraq should be admitted very soon —an image of the growing brotherhood of all peoples. "The establishment of genuine national self-government in the East and the inclusion of oriental peoples in the League of Nations are closely connected." (Arnold J. Toynbee). The Soviet Union, which is hastening the awakening of the oriental peoples by its solution of the problems of nationality in its own territory and has attempted to bring national and social advancement to these peoples at a breath-taking rate, will operate as a ferment far out through the oriental world. Thus, all over both Orient and Occident, on common political economic and spiritual battlefields, a uniform world is growing up. But this world unity which is developing throughout the expanse of the globe today has its roots in the soil of a multiplicity of traditions. Although Turkey today may appear entirely European and national, yet for all that she was until a few years ago an Islamic empire, and this not far distant past is having its after-effect in molding her inwardly. But the individuality peculiar to every people, and to the great civilizations especially, remains in spite of every impingement. This individuality is, after all, impossible to define. It is fully intelligible only to him who has grown up in the midst of it as a part of its historical development. But above this inexpugnable individuality of man and of cultural systems there is arising gradually an encompassing spiritual and social unity, the unity of mankind, whose organization on new bases is the problem of the modern historical epoch—a problem for the solution of which the harnessing of all the forces of the Orient and Occident will be necessary.

(Concluded)

THE COMMON MESSAGE OF THE WORLD'S GREAT TEACHERS

by

HUGH MCCURDY WOODWARD

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LIFE'S MOST IMPORTANT WORK

JUST why the world should worship the men discussed in this volume rather than some others is an interesting question. Why these men have caught the imagination of the world and have been the inspiration of most of the great spiritual philosophies is a problem which perhaps holds a secret for this as well as other generations.

None of these men believed in war. They were not great generals. They were not rated in their age as great scientists, rulers, or statesmen. They were great moral teachers emphasizing the fact that the greatest business in all the world is the building of character. "What profiteth a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" These men did little else than to lay down a philosophy on which a temple of human character could be built.

They thought not in terms of nations or of groups. "God will not ask from what country or class you are, but what have you done" says Buddha. They were not thinking of the glory of any physical kingdom. "Do not be deceived," says Jesus. "The kingdom will not come by observation. The kingdom is within you." They had little interest in nationalism as such. Jesus urges the Jews not to look for salvation through the fatherhood of Abraham alone for said He: "Do not say, we have Abraham to our fathers, for God is able to raise up of these stones seed unto Abraham." They taught a philosophy of individual salvation. They were interested in help-

ing every living soul develop, unfold, and build his or her temple of character.

Their logic was simple, convincing, and direct. The building of the temple of character is the greatest thing in the world, because the individual must live in his own temple as long as his personality exists. Men cannot live in the temples of other men. Furthermore, they must build these temples themselves and build them substantial and beautiful, otherwise they will be compelled to live in a temple inefficient, ugly, and degenerate.

This philosophy of the individual life taught that in "the parliament of nature there is no class legislation." Every individual has a chance to expand and develop his powers and capacities for an abundant life to limits which the ordinary man does not comprehend. Lao Tze said: "He that knoweth his own worth but is willing to live in obscurity becomes the mode of the whole world." It is not reputation that counts; it is "to be" which influences the world for good. A "Temple of Abundant Life" which shines like a pillar of light is the world's greatest sermon and most powerful influence for good.

The masses of men seem to be interested in and try to find greatness in every experiment except the development of their own personalities. Deluded, and ignorant, they struggle for power and dominion as a nation and as classes, while as individuals too many are decaying and degenerating at the core. They think of attaining greatness by acquiring great possessions, forgetting the building of their own fine temples which alone can permanently belong to them. When time gives the signal for the break with physical things, most of the achievements of their entire life's work become ashes in their own hands.

According to these masters of wisdom, man can own, mechanically, only the elements in his own body and personality. By having perfect control over these he is able to enjoy the entire universe. They would say in substance that the man who holds a deed to the world does not own it, but he who is developed in his capacities and powers to respond to the beauties of the world, he alone can enjoy and own it. Build ye, therefore, temples of character, because

out of the windows of these temples the whole universe will be revealed in its beauty.

It seems strange that it is necessary to have these things called to our attention when so many in every age have demonstrated their truth. It is this common experience, no doubt, which causes humanity to respond to these great teachers when they would make character building the burden of their message. They did not think of making great individuals by making first a great nation, a great church, or a great order. They thought in terms of making a fine family, a good neighborhood, and a great nation by making first well ordered and well developed individuals.

Perhaps no living man has stated more clearly the way to a well organized nation or kingdom than Confucius the sage of China: "The ancients who wished to illustrate illustrious virtue throughout the empire, first ordered well their own states. Wishing to order well their own state, they first regulated their families. Wishing to regulate their families, they first cultivated their persons. Wishing to cultivate their persons, they first rectified their hearts. Wishing to rectify their hearts, they first sought to be sincere in their thoughts. Wishing to be sincere in their thoughts, they first extended to the utmost their knowledge. Such extension of knowledge lay in the investigation of things. Things being investigated, knowledge became complete. Their sincere hearts were then rectified. Their hearts being rectified, their persons were cultivated. Their persons being cultivated, their families were regulated. Their families being regulated, their states were rightly governed. Their states being rightly governed, the whole empire was made tranquil and happy."

Why has character education been the principal theme before the National Education Association of America for the last two years? Was it a mere accident? Was it because they had disposed of all other pressing problems? On the contrary, it was because of certain well defined developments which have been taking place in scientific, social, and educational thought.

The pressing need for character education grows inevitably out of the evolution of the democratic ideal. This ideal has been

stated in substance by leading educators as follows: *To build a society wherein the abilities, capabilities, and powers of each individual might be developed to their maximum by, and through, activities designed to develop the same life and activity in others.*

Man's marvelous conquest of the forces in the physical world has helped thinking individuals to realize that *the right use of power is quite as important as the possession of it.* This is evident to any student who has realized the nature of that complex organization of material wealth, machinery, labor, and organized intelligence which Mecklin in his "Introduction to Social Ethics" calls the "Great Society." Such an organization of forces devoid of conscience and without proper regard for the principles of Equity, Justice, and Right may be the destroyer of its own purposes.

The last hundred years have been preeminently an age of science. The mind has been focused upon the discovery and classification of facts. "Give us the facts. Give us the facts," has come to be the cry of many souls. This is a sound slogan provided it is carried far enough. To be sound it must cover the spiritual and moral as well as the physical and intellectual. So intoxicated have some scientists become with the idea that a knowledge of the facts will solve life's problems that they have pinned their faith in the future development of the race to the work being done in the physical and biological sciences. They fail to appreciate that man has relations which carry him beyond the physical and biological.

Because of the progress in their sciences, Mr. Haldane, in his "Dædalus" or "Science and the Future," paints a bright picture of the future of mankind. No student of social progress would fail to appreciate the part played by these sciences. It is when we assume that the knowledge in their sciences is the only thing which has played an important part that we go wrong in our thinking.

Bertrand Russell in his "Icarus or The Future of Science," calls our attention to a few facts which bring into bold relief the need of character. He says: "Men sometimes speak as though the progress of science must necessarily be a boon to mankind, but that, I fear, is one of the comfortable nineteenth century delusions which our more disillusioned age must discard. Science enables the hold-

ers of power to realize their purposes more fully than they would otherwise do. If their purposes are good this is a gain; if evil, it is a loss. Science is no substitute for virtue; the heart is as necessary for a good life as the head."

In the same work he continues: "If men were rational in their conduct, that is to say, if they acted in the way most likely to bring about the ends they most deliberately desire, intelligence would be enough to make the world almost a paradise. In the main what is in the long run advantageous to one man is advantageous to another. But men are actuated by passions which destroy their view; feeling an impulse to injure others, they persuade themselves that it is to their interest to do so. They will not, therefore, act in the way which is in fact to their own interest unless they are actuated by generous motives which make them indifferent to their own interest. This is why the heart is as important as the head. Science has not given men more self-control, more kindness, or more power of discounting their passions, in deciding upon a course of action."

The great lesson of the ancient Wise Men—that wisdom and right conduct necessitates "the right applications of knowledge and the right use of power" must be learned by the teachers of this generation and become the center of the message of education to this century. This means good motives as well as much knowledge. It means right conduct as well as power.

HAWAII: A SOLUTION OF THE RACE PROBLEM

by

HERBERT A. MILLER

Sociologist

THERE is an advantage in being a sociologist. How the general public has arrived at its conclusions about sociologists I do not know, but their reputation is that they are what they really ought to be, objective and humanistic. As soon as I am introduced as a sociologist I get the impression that people feel that they can trust me and that I shall be interested in the sort of problems that they want to have solved or understood. This reputation is a little hard to live up to and I know some sociologists who fall short a little, but it is a great help and stimulation to be thought to be just a little more than you are.

Hawaii is a sort of model for paradise. Its climate, vegetation, both fruit and flower, and the spirit of the people are the sort of thing that one dreams about. One feels, however, that he might eventually be like the people described by Mark Twain in "Captain Stormfield's Visit to Heaven," who, after a few days of great joy with their harps and halos, soon hung their halos on their arms, and dragged their harps behind them. The solving of problems is what is interesting, not the getting them solved. Of course it is not as good as it looks, but without any question in some respects these islands are the most interesting racial laboratory in the world. I perceive that I should learn somthing by spending months here instead of days.

Here are races, but no race problem as it exists in the rest of the world. Governor Farrington says there is no race problem because there is no caste problem. In spite of my own relative emancipation from race consciousness I could not help being con-

stantly surprised to notice yesterday that no one paid any attention to the fact that the beaches were full of people of all colors associating indiscriminately.

Race relations can only be solved in a long process of time, but there are certain indications here of what must happen in the whole world. The total population is less than three hundred and fifty thousand or about the population of Columbus, O. 228,000 are American citizens and 120,000 aliens. There are 20,000 Hawaians, relatively pure, and 25,000 mixed with Caucasians and Asiatics. Only 37,000 Nordic Caucasians, 83,000 native born Japanese and therefore citizens, and 51,000 foreign born Japanese who cannot become citizens. This makes the total population about forty per cent. Japanese and the citizens thirty-six per cent. This situation has caused a good deal of consternation in California and it has spread to other parts of the states. Governor Farrington does not think it a serious problem, for the native born Japanese feel American and when they sometimes go back to Japan they find that they are badly maladjusted.

In a few years the oriental voters combining the Japanese, Chinese and Koreans will outnumber all the rest and this is likely to postpone greatly the change from a territory to a state. There are still fears that can only be allayed by the further working out of the experiment.

The ultimate solution will unquestionably be biological amalgamation which will in the course of many thousands of years be the ultimate solution of the world race problem, hateful as it now seems to many people. It will go on elsewhere just as it has here on two levels, the highest and the lowest. The middle class will be conservative. In the early days many leading Caucasians married Hawaians. Queen Liliokilani's husband was a white man. Those of the middle class whose status is still in doubt or in the making will take no chances, but in the lower classes of all races there will be and is a good deal of intermarriage, and a great deal of progeny without marriage. In this as in most of the great social movements of the world the masses will determine the direction of progress, and it will make no difference how much the classes may decry it.

The value of a laboratory experiment is that a single demonstrated case proves the possibilities. We do find here Caucasians who have completely overcome race feeling which some people have hoped was instinctive, but which the Behaviorists have shown is only a habit. A single proof of the possibility is all that is needed now, and time will do the rest.

Sentimentally the Islands are Hawaiian, though pure and mixed they have only 13% of the population. The names of all the places are Hawaiian, and many Hawaiian words are in the popular vocabulary. The language consists mostly of vowels, and I have made no progress with it. Whether a name begins with K, L, M, or P they all sound the same to me, but other Mainlanders seem to use them freely so I suppose mastery can be acquired. Hawaiian customs are followed even by the Orientals. Hawaians are given preference in government jobs such as the police force and road workers. Few of them have made economic successes but they are everywhere in good standing.

I should sum up the racial situation here by saying that the peculiarity which does not exist anywhere else in the world is that no racial group has an inferiority complex. There is danger that the tourists from the mainland may, by their feeling of superiority, modify this situation somewhat, and that the sugar barons, who probably do not differ from their class anywhere, will develop class feeling among their employees and sooner or later a class conflict will arise, but it will probably drive the races together instead of keeping them apart.

There have been so many books written about these Islands that it is presumptuous to write anything without time to discover phasis on the local situation. The classes have students of every intended to do nothing but rest here, but it would be difficult to live a much faster pace or have a more interesting or instructive time. Although our intimate contacts have been with Oberlin people and Koreans, we have talked with many others, and visited the university.

The department of sociology at the university puts its emphasis on the local situation. The classes have students of every

race and since there is no inferiority feeling in any of them, and since all official statistics are kept racially the data are immediately available. One of our difficulties is that Negro and even Jewish statistics may not be taken and the only way to get the facts is by a circuitous method.

The early New England missionaries must be given credit for much of the cordial attitude though their descendants constitute the capitalist class here. Also the happy disposition of the native Hawaians themselves whose hospitable traditions are played up to the limit, though there is undoubtedly a good deal of plain "blah" in it now because it is a fine tourist asset.

The distressing events that have recently brought Honolulu into public disapproval, do not, in my opinion, invalidate any of the conclusions drawn in the following discussion of the race situation.

It is most unfortunate that attention has been focussed as to make the issue racial. There are certain abnormal conditions in Hawaii that should not be overlooked. First, there are all the racial groups who are permanent residents who have lived together in relative harmony. Second, there are the tourists who next to sugar and pineapples are the largest source of income. They get a thrill out of the unusual social freedom they may have with people who elsewhere would be somewhat apart. The lack of restraint on the bathing beaches is, to say the least, unusual. Thirdly, there are the army men, to the number of thirty thousand, who live a partly self-sufficient life, but soldiers in any community always make a problem, and this undoubtedly has aggravated the moral situation.

Bad as the condition in Honolulu may be, the papers say that in Cleveland in four months there were eighty assaults upon women, so that the racial quality of the population of Hawaii cannot properly be set off as anything peculiarly bad.

Another sociologist who has spent a year in Hawaii when asked to classify the races in terms of social qualities put the Chinese first, the Japanese second, and the Americans third. I should say that at least there are no preeminent qualities that the white Americans can claim.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF TURKEY

by

WALTER WOODBURN HYDE

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THE political and cultural changes inaugurated in Turkey during the last few years, chiefly by its strong man, Mustapha Kemal Pashá, have their only counterpart in recent years in the more drastic ones wrought since the World War by the Lenin regime in Russia. So far, however, the regeneration of Turkey has not called forth a fraction of the interest that has been accorded the communist upheaval of the Soviets, which has been called "the most stupendous governmental feat ever undertaken." Nevertheless, the bringing of the backward Turkish people, the victim of centuries of misgovernment, to the level of European culture in so short a time is almost as remarkable.

During the past few years I have made three visits to Turkey to view these changes at first hand. In the spring of 1928, on reaching Aleppo in North Syria after completing a journey through Iraq from Ur in the south to Mosul in the North, I took the "Simplon Express" to the large industrial town of Afium Karahissar in the interior of Asia Minor or Anatolia, which is about all that is now left of the once huge Empire of the Turks, which comprised extensive areas in three continents. From here I continued by rail, first westward to Smyrna on the Aegean, and later eastward to Angóra, the present capital, finally closing my visit with a few days' sojourn in Constantinople. Again in March of the following year I visited the great city on the Bosphorus and its neighborhood for several weeks on my way by sea from Athens to Russia. Once more I found myself there a year ago on my return from Russia by sea from Odessa.

In Constantinople, known officially as Istanbul, its medieval Greek name, I found the modernizing process still in progress, the last notable change, the substitution of the Roman character for the Arabic, having started in the interim between my two first visits. While in 1928 every newspaper and every sign was in the picturesque Arabic script, on my return all were in Latin.

It was in Angora, or Engurii, as the Turks call it, and the modern representative of the ancient Ancyra, whose foundation goes back traditionally to Midas of the "golden touch" of the seventh century B.C., and which later became the capital of Galatia to whose church Paul wrote his famous letter, that I read in French versions the Constitution and an account of the recent metamorphosis from Empire to Republic. Later, in Constantinople, I had leisure to see the recent changes in operation. I shall begin with a brief outline of political events from the accession of Abdul-Hamid II in 1876, the most reactionary of recent Sultans, to the induction of Kemal into the office of Presidency of the Republic of Turkey in 1923. It is to the latter and to his Prime Minister, Ismet Pashá, that these changes are mostly due.

It will be remembered that the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878 was ended by the treaty of San Stefano, signed March 5, 1878, and that its terms were modified by the subsequent Congress of Berlin held from June 13 to July 13 of that year. By the treaty there made Turkey lost a large share of her European possessions: Serbia, Rumania, and Montenegro became free; Bulgaria north of the Balkans was formed into a dependent principality under Prince Alexander of Battenberg, and its southeastern section below the mountains was erected into the tribute-paying province of Eastern Rumelia, the two sections being reunited in 1885; Bosnia and Herzegovina were administered by Austria-Hungary; the Dardanelles were opened to neutral merchantmen; and reforms were demanded, especially in Rumania, Crete, and the eastern Asiatic provinces. With this curtailment of territory Turkey remained a despotism to 1909, and retained its Sultanate with modified powers to 1922.

During the years between 1878 and 1909, when finally the

"Young Turk" party deposed Abdul-Hamid, various ethnic groups, largely because of the failure of the Porte to carry out the promised reforms, were in almost constant turmoil; the Armenians, oppressed and massacred since 1890 by the Kurds, who were now officially recognized and made almost immune from civil law; the Egyptians, through misgovernment and revolts, finally coming under British control by the Anglo-French agreement of 1904; the Greeks, outraged by Turkish oppression in Crete resulting in revolts there from 1890 on, and finally, in 1896, despite the Greek defeat in their war with Turkey one year before, resulting in Crete being placed by the Powers under international control with Prince George of Greece as its Governor till 1909; the Macedonians, fired by the example of freedom now enjoyed by their Christian neighbors; the Albanians, mutinous because of unpopular taxes and the restraint of Turkish law; and the Arabs of Yemen, who began to be troublesome with their revolt in 1892.

Because of decades of misgovernment the "Young Turk" party was secretly formed in 1908 by army officers in Macedonia to restore the Constitution and demand other needed reforms. It was the continuation of the older "Young Ottoman" party, which had been inaugurated in 1878, when Abdul-Hamid closed Parliament, and intensified in 1882 because of his muzzling free speech. Then Talaat-Bey and several other officers founded in Saloniki the "Secret Society of Union and Progress" after the model of Masonic Lodges. Soon the older Revolutionary societies, with their center in Paris, joined under their leader Nazim. On July 22, 1908, Major Niazi, who had been in charge of propaganda in Macedonia, raised the standard of revolt in Resna, and this was followed immediately by the other conspirators at Monastir, and the activities of the "Society" became open. The next day the Sultan was informed that the Constitution, which he had proclaimed soon after his accession, December 23, 1876, and which had been a dead letter since 1878, when, on February 14, he had prorogued Parliament, must be restored, and that the election of a new Chamber of Deputies must take place. Thus the Constitution, which had guaranteed freedom of worship to all creeds as well as to Islam, the religion

of the State, and a Senate and Lower House, was restored after an interval of thirty years on July 23, and on the following August 6 a Cabinet was formed under the liberal Kiamil Pashá as Grand Vizier. The revolution had been bloodless, its only stain being the assassination of several of its adherents in a revolt in Constantinople on April 13 of the following year.

In consequence of these changes, in early October, 1908, Bulgaria declared her independence, Prince Firdinand becoming Tsar, and Austria-Hungary formally annexed Bosnia and Herzegovína. The Sultan had to yield to both demands the following April, receiving from Austria-Hungary an indemnity of two and one-fifth million pounds sterling. And the Young Turks felt no real progress could be made so long as the reactionary Abdul-Hamid remained. On April 27, 1909, therefore, Parliament at a secret meeting deposed him, after his long reign of mismanagement covering a period of thirty-three years. He was taken to Saloniki as a prisoner, where he died in 1918. In his stead a younger brother was named as Mohammed V on May 10, a man of sixty-five, who was to prove utterly ignorant of state-craft, and from the first became a mere puppet in the hands of the Young Turk leaders, Talaat-Bey and Enver-Bey. At last the Young Turks were firmly established, and Turkey, despite its recent losses, still extended from the Adriatic to the Persian Gulf. But soon Mohammed was to see still further losses to his country's territory.

Italy, long covetous of Turkish territory on the opposite African coast, without provocation seized Tripoli and the Cyrenaica on September 28, 1911, and by the subsequent peace of October 12, 1912, retained them. Just before that war was over, the Balkan League, formed by Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Montenegro, at the instigation of the latter, started war with Turkey, October 8, 1912, the excuse being the intolerable conditions in Macedonia. After Turkey was defeated on all fronts in this, the First Balkan War, by the Treaty of London, May 30, 1913, she lost all her European possessions except the small area around Constantinople and the Gallipoli Peninsula. By the Second Balkan War, started June 30, 1913, because of dissatisfaction among the League's mem-

bers, now including Rumania, over the allotment of the spoils, the major portion of which had gone to Bulgaria, Turkey lost Crete, and all the islands of the Archipelago except Imbros and Tenedos to Greece, and the Dodecanese to Italy. Further, Eastern Thrace to the Maritza was lost except Adrianople, now returned by Bulgaria to the Porte.

Then came the World War and Turkey's part in that struggle, ending with an armistice signed at Mudros, October 30, 1918. Before it was over Mohammed V had died, July 3, 1918, and was succeeded by his brother Vohid-ed-Din as Mohammed VI, the thrty-seventh Sultan in the line of Osman, and destined, because of his hostility to the reforms of the Young Turks, to be the last. During the war certain internal changes had been effected: education had become secularized; the Stamboul University had expanded with its five faculties, and been opened to women; the civil courts had been transferred from the Sheik-ul-Islam to the Ministry of Justice; and marriage and divorce had been reformed, and women admitted to civil offices.

Long before the Treaty of Sèvres was to be promulgated on August 10, 1920, the Young Turks, fearful of its terms, and humiliated by the armistice, held secret meetings in Stamboul and elsewhere to annul its provisions; this was the beginning of the "Nationalist" movement, which was to regenerate Turkey. Things indeed looked black: the Dardanelles were held by the Allied fleets, and Constantinople by a mixed army of British, French, Greeks, and even Americans; and the collapse of the Empire after more than six centuries of glory seemed imminent. The Greeks had received by the Balkan wars South Epirus and Saloniki, both of which had been ruled by Turks for nearly five hundred years, and by the treaty were expected to receive Eastern Thrace to the Chatalja lines, and the Smyrna area. They were ready to recreate the old Byzantine Empire, which had been ended by the Turks in the fifteenth century. A Greek army under cover of British, French, and American warships, landed in Smyna, and staged such a massacre there that the Turks held mass-meetings of protest in the capital and elsewhere, and determined to resist to the end.

But reaction was timely, and a part of the Empire, at least, was to be saved. In Anatolia groups of army officers secretly organized military fronts against their enemies, especially the Greeks in the west and against the allied plan of transferring Turkish territory to Armenia in the east. Amid almost universal anarchy the Sultan in fear placed the government in the hands of the Allies. He sent Kemal to the east, and the latter, on his way to Erzerum which was to be given by the treaty to Armenia, stopped at Amasia, where with the other conspirators he signed the Protocol of June 19, 1919, the declaration of national resistance both to the Allies and to their tool, Mohammed VI. By July of that year Kemal presided at a National Congress convened at Erzerum; on September 4 another assembled at Sivas, between Erzerum and Angora, to reaffirm the action of the former. In January, 1920, the Parliament at Constantinople with its nationalist majority, issued a pact that the Straits be opened to commerce without Allied control, and that the Arabs below the Armistice line in Syria and Iraq should have self-determination. Finally, on April 23, delegates formed an Assembly at Angora, under the presidency of Kemal, and a new Contittution and the "Grand National Assembly" were started as the *de facto* government of Turkey. Thus there were two governments, the absolute Monarchy of the Sultan, now a figure-head in Constantinople, controlled by the Allies, and the Republic of Angora. Outside nations, Persia and others, soon recognized the latter, and it was not long before it was to be similarly recognized on the European side of the Bosphorus as well. By August, 1920, the long expected treaty of Sèvres, aimed at the dismemberment of Turkey, was signed by the Allies and the Sultan. Indignation was general; Angora at once attacked Armenia, a part of which was to be carved out of Turkish territory, and peace was not found till the following January.

Turkey's next objective was to drive the Greeks utterly out of Anatolia. The latter's offensive carried on from January to April, 1921, was checked at Inn-Eunu. A conference was called in London to modify the terms of the Treaty, and on October 20 France recognized Angora. In March, 1922, the Allies tried to patch up

a peace between the Greeks and Turks, but the latter demanded that Anatolia be evacuated, and the Greeks answered on July 30 by proclaiming Anatonia autonomous as far east as their armies occupied it. Finally, the Turks advanced in the Greek lines August 16, and drove the defeated army, which tried to cover the retreat of a large Greek civil population, on Smyrna, the Greeks burning Turkish towns and committing atrocities all along the way. In Smyrna they were literally driven into the sea by the Turkish army which arrived there on the 9th of September, the final event in the greatest deportation in history, totaling in Anatolia and Thrace something like a million and a half Greeks, with as many more, perhaps, being exterminated. In return the Turks received back less than half-million of their nationalists from the lost provinces in the Balkans. Besides such numbers the captivity of the Jews in Babylon in the time of Nebuchadnezzar sinks into utter insignificance. Three days after the Greeks had left, a large section of the city of Smyrna, an area pehaps a mile square, stretching from the Frank quarter along the Marina through the Greek and Armenian quarters, and including even a portion of the less offensive Jewish section, was destroyed by bombs and fire, the loss in property amounting to some $200,000,000, and in life to about a thousand souls. The immediate effect of the Greek debacle was felt in Greece in the deposing of King Constantine. Driven from Asia the Greeks next planned to march on Constantinople through Thrace, but were stopped by the British at Chanak. A note from Paris dated September 23, 1922, acknowledged Kemal's sway over Anatolia and the corner of Thrace as far west as the Maritza, and placed the Dardanelles under the League of Nations. At Mudania, where a treaty was signed October 13, 1922, the Allies met representatives of the Greeks and Turks about an armistice.

The Allies had invited the Sultan to the Peace Conference, and a message had been sent by Tewfik Pashá to Angora asking the government there to be represented. But the Grand National Assembly decided it was now time for one of the two governments of Turkey to cease. On November 3 it decreed that the Sultanate and Caliphate, together since 1517, should be separated, and the

former be abolished, an institution that had endured 623 years since Osman I had laid the foundation of Ottoman power in 1299, now brought to a close through the treason of its last representative. It decreed further that in future the Calif under its control should be chosen from any prince of Osman's line. Two days later the Nationalists entered Constantinople and ordered the Allies to withdraw. On the 17th the British took the Sultan in a battleship to Malta, and he was officially deposed on November 23, and died in exile in 1926. On the 18th Abdul-Medjid Effendi, second son of Sultan Abdul-Aziz, predecessor of Abdul-Hamid, was named Caliph, and six days later invested with the Prophet's mantle.

A conference had been called by the Allies at Lausanne on the preceding 24th of October to restore peace in the Near East. By the treaty promulgated in January, 1923, Angora was recognized, and all of Kemal's demands except the retention of Mosul were accepted. The European frontier was to be the Maritza and Bulgaria, while in Asia, Turkey was to lose all title to Syria, Palestine, the Hejaz and Arabia, and in Africa, to Egypt, the Sudan and Libya. The waterways between the Aegean and Black Seas were internationalized. Thus the Republic was to occupy less than a half-million square miles of territory, and to contain a population of some thirteen and a half millions. This was a small fraction of the Empire at its zenith at the death of Suleiman "the Magnificent" in 1566, when it extended from the frontiers of Germany to the Indian Ocean, including the whole Balkan Peninsula except a small strip of Dalmatia, and all the peoples around the Black Sea except the Circassians, and in Africa the coastal plain from Egypt to Morocco. Kemal was elected President of the Grand National Assembly, October 29, 1923, for four years, and the new Constitution was adopted April 20, 1924, since which time Turkey has been ruled as a constitutional Rupublic, the 286 members of its Assembly being elected for four years by male suffrage with full legislative powers. The executive is vested in its President, therefore virtually the President of the State, and a Council of Ministers appointed by him. In 1927 Kemal was re-elected for a similar length of time.

Released from external troubles Turkey was now ready to start her program of cultural modernization. Unfortunately, despite the fact that the Constitution guaranteed the Assembly as sovereign, Kemal began from the first to show a tendency to dictorial methods, which by November 1924, centered opposition in the Republican Progressive Party. But he continued his reforms, when necessary using terrorist methods. One of his first activities was in the field of religion. On March 3, 1924, the Assembly on three days' notice suppressed the Caliphate, and the last of the Caliphs was exiled to Europe to join the last of the Sultans already there, and Turkey's allegiance to Islam was practically ended. Church and State, Mohammedian and Turk, indissolubly linked for centuries, were finally divorced. At the time millions of the faithful were startled by learning that their Pope, the "Defender of the Faith," and "Shadow of Allah on earth," was no more. The logical consummation of this act was not taken till four years later, when, on April 10, 1928, the Assembly unanimously passed Ismet Pashá's proposal to erase from the Constitution the time-honored words—"the religion of the State is Islam." Since then the public oath "by Allah" has become "by my honor."

In 1924 the reactionary monastic orders of the Derwishes and all monasteries were abolished, and some 490 *medressehs* or religious schools were closed. On November 25th of that year the hat, the hated symbol of Christianity, replaced the fez and turban, and this was followed by a complete metamorphosis in the raiment of both men and women. The latter were forbidden by statute to wear the veil, which had been the sign of Oriental seclusion for millenia. Today neither fez nor veil is seen anywhere in Turkey, the hat being the most visible sign of the westernizing tendency. Though such innovations confounded the priests and discomfited the faithful, they have not meant any diminution in religious zeal. Just as some of the Orthodox churches are still open in Russia after the separation of Church and State effected by the Soviets, in harmony with the Marxian dogma that "Religion is the Opiate of the People," so all the Turkish mosques are still filled with the devout, the crier of *muezzin*—albeit in European cap and dress—still call-

ing them from the minarets to the hours of prayer.

The last hold of Islam was in Moslem tradition centering in the Koranic law. In February, 1926, a more fundamental change was therefore started, the substitution of a new legal code, taken almost bodily from the Swiss Civil Code, for that of the Koran, and finally passed by the Assembly the following year. Now polygamy was banished and civil marriages alone were made legal. Divorce was changed, and inheritance by will guaranteed.

The last important change, educational in scope, has already been mentioned, the passing of the Arabic alphabet. In April, 1928, the Assembly decreed that Roman letters be substituted, and in the following September notice was given that all government and municipal officials must pass an examination in writing the Latin character by a certain date or lose their positions. The Dictator, we are told, himself instructed the Assembly on a blackboard in the new way of writing. His reaction to the change is shown by these words from his speech before Parliament: "We must get rid of the incomprehensible Arabic signs wherein for centuries our brains have been confined." By December, 1928, just before my last visit to Stamboul, all newspapers, government notices, and signs appeared in the modified "New Turkish Alphabet" of twenty-nine letters. Thus, today, the picturesque though difficult Arabic writing, the acquisition of which had certainly been one of the causes for only fifteen per cent of the population being able to write, is a thing of the past in Turkey. On January 7, 1929, Mehmed-Bey, Director of Education at Angora, announced that a half-million evening school students, and nearly 700,000 primary and secondary pupils of the new State Schools, in which attendance is compulsory for those of Turkish birth, nearly one tenth of the entire population of Turkey, were studying the new alphabet. It is believed that after the fifteen years allowed to educate the people in the new character, illiteracy will have practically disappeared. This innovation alone, like the one just proposed in Russia to replace the Gregorian Greek alphabet there in use for centuries by the Latin, will prove the greatest factor in bringing Turkey to the level of European culture.

THE INDIAN RENAISSANCE AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

by

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INDIA occupies at the moment an exceedingly important place on the stage of the world. The eyes of the whole civilized world are centered on that great and ancient country. Her awakening to new ideas and longing for self-determination is the most dramatic fact in modern political life and a cause of surprise to those who are acquainted with her past history and traditions. Yesterday she was in a state of inertia and stagnation and meekly acquiesced in the overlordship of her alien masters; today she is agitated by the dynamic concepts of national freedom and self-government, and clamors for an independent political existence and for a place in the sun of the East appropriate to her size and population. Her transition from passive submission and stolid indifference to self-assertion and national expression is unique in human history and is fraught with the deepest significance for the future of the British Empire and the political relations between the East and the West.

But it is not the political awakening of Hindustan that is the most important event in recent Indian history as wrongly supposed by many; it is the vast intellectual movement that promises to force her out of the old and effete epoch and to drive her into the new and modern age. The politically-minded West takes account of matters secular and political, and watches with interest the struggle of the Indian people for independence; but very few realize that during the last decade changes have been taking place in the thought-life of India which will make a deeper and more perma-

nent impression than anything that has happened in Indian history for a thousand years. Political discussions and constitutional formulas are the property of an infinitesimal minority of Western educated classes and affect only a small number of the Indian people; but the intellectual ferment that is convulsing India from one end to the other involves all her teeming millions.

A vast intellectual movement, which is closely allied with other popular movements, is transforming the structure of Indian society and is working a social and domestic revolution in the homes of the people. The present crusade against foreign domination is the child of this intellectual renaissance.

The Indian renaissance was precipitated when Lord Macaulay set aside the claims of Oriental learning in favor of Western studies, and persuaded the British Government to organize the educational system of India on the English model. The Indian mind was introduced to the science and literature of modern Europe and was saturated with the habits of thought and modes of action peculiar to the European people. New life was thus being breathed into the dry bones and wasted frame of Indian society; an eager and inquisitive spirit was generated, such as had not been seen since the time of Gautama the Buddha. Novel ideas were flung into Indian soil; new aspirations were being called forth. The Indians were captivated and dazzled by the liberal spirit of Western culture, and embraced the English conceptions of liberty, patriotism, the dignity of man, and his individual responsibility, with the ardour of a religious gospel. They underwent a complete change in their mental outlook and views of life and disassociated themselves from the faiths and beliefs of their forefathers, branding them as childish superstitions and archaic survivals of a dead and long-forgotten past. To them Indian ways of life, thought-forms, and social customs looked crude and utterly degrading in comparison with the manners and practices of their rulers, which they adopted with enthusiastic admiration. Even those Indians who refused to be carried away by the popular tide and clung to their ancestral traditions were powerfully influenced by Western thought and example and realized the value of European consti-

tutional and industrial methods.

But the old glamor of the Occident, which fascinated and exercised an irresistible spell on the Indian mind, has lost its force and exists no longer; the Indians are today turning to the history, literature, and art of their country and probing deep down into the classical Indian civilization. A group of Indian scholars, trained in the scientific methods of the West, has arisen and has brought about a veritable rebirth of ancient Indian thought and letters. Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore is perhaps the most prominent figure in this cultural revival. By his numerous poems, essays, dramas, and songs, he has inspired an intense love and respect for Indian ideals in the hearts of his countrymen, and has revealed to them the beauty and philosophic depths of their national classics. In his University at Bolpore, Bengal, some of the foremost scholars are delving deep into Indian origins and antiquity, and are writing the history of their country on scientific principles and strict canons of historical criticism. Their researches are making the Indian people increasingly conscious of their great historic achievements, and increasingly confident that they are not inferior to the peoples of the West. They think that India has a record of culture reaching back into countless generations, of which any people might well be proud, and that to allow it to perish would be tantamount to cutting the roots of the vitality of Indian life. Radhakrishnan and Surendra Nath Gupta have unearthed the deeper truths of Indian philosophy; and have shown that in abstract thought India has attained Himalyan heights, and that there is no problem in the science of psychology, ontology, epistemology, metaphysics, logic, or grammar which the Indian sages have not sounded as deeply and discussed as elaborately as the Greeks. Dr. Bimala Charan Law has explored the vast mass of Buddhist literature and history, and has published many original and notable works on the primitive tenets and schools of Buddhist philosophy and the influence which they have exercised on the life and thought of India and the Far East. Many other Indian scholars are making valuable contributions to the knowledge of Sanskrit and Pali literatures, and the conviction is growing that in the Vedas, in the Geeta, in the

Upanishads, in the Vedanta, in the doctrines of the Buddha, and in the ethical and moral disquisitions of Maharaj Asoka, the Indian people possess treasures which are not rivalled by any other nation of antiquity and which will compare favorably with the ethical and moral codes of the West.

This conviction is further strengthened by the teaching and propaganda of the Arya Samaj, a most powerful religious and social organization in the Punjab and the United Provinces. Founded about 1875 by Dayanand Sarasvati on the basis of the infallibility of the four Vedas, it has made a profound impression, and there is no department of Indian life and activity in which it has not made its influence felt. It has virtually rehabilitated Vedic science and the Sanskrit language, and has stemmed the tide of conversion of Hindus to alien creeds and religions. Its appeal to the original authority of the Vedas; its rejection of caste rules and regulations; its bitter denunciation of superstititon and evils rampant in Indian society; its campaign against the hierarchy of priests; its concession to each individual of freedom of thought and interpretation; and above all its exaltation of everything Indian—all these have made it an intellectual and moral force in contemporary India and exceedingly popular with the younger generation. Its interpretation of Vedic mythology is often crude and ill-informed and militates against the findings of modern scholarship but it has aroused Hindus from their hopeless apathy and indifference, and has set them thinking about their religion and about the metamorphosis which it has undergone in the long course of its history and evolution.

According to the Arya Samaj, Indian civilization in all its branches—religion, ethics, government, politics, and industry—is spiritual and noble; the corruptions which disfigure Hinduism are excrescences imposed upon it by foreign invasions and crafty priests, and were utterly non-existent and unknown in the time of the Vedas; and modern Hinduism is the denial and travesty of primitive Indo-Aryan religion and social system. The Arya Samaj even goes so far as to claim that the scientific appliances and mechanical inventions of the modern West were known to the India

of the Rishis, and that Indo-Aryan society rested on a basis of democratic equality. This is an exaggeration and seems to be intended to inflate national pride, but it serves its purpose in making the Indian people amenable to the technological culture of Europe and America and in inspiring them with the idea of material and commercial advance of their country.

The educated Indians, who are susceptible to the teaching of the Arya Samaj and other recognized leaders of Indian thought, and are open to the thought-currents of the modern world, are set about to restore the pristine glory of their civilization and to purge Indian society of its gross perversions and incrustations. They are ashamed of the corruption and unspeakable degradation into which India has fallen, and their great passion is to regenerate her on ancient ideals and realize that her present political slavery is deeply rooted in her internal weaknesses, which must be excised out before she can successfully snap the cords and take an honored place in the comity of the nations. Their aim and watchword is progress—progress intellectual, political, social, and industrial. They are in revolt against everything that stands in the path of national advance, and their movement is making itself felt in every department of Indian thought and effort.

As the result of the propaganda of the movement for progress, great reforms are being affected in Indian society, and many of the cankers which gangrene and eat into the vitals of the national life, are cut away with the sharp blade of fiery criticism and denunciation. Concubinage and polygamy have vanished utterly; erotic songs and vicious nautch parties are a thing of the past; child marriage is being rapidly killed by public opinion and legislation; and the savage caste system and untouchability are passing out of educated society. Religious superstitions and prejudices which demarcate the Indian people into endless divisions and water-tight compartments are falling asunder under the pressure of democratic ideas and are losing their aristocratic hold on the people. The teaching of the old fashioned pandit and maulana are openly sneered at and laughed to scorn by the young. They are destined to succumb to the violent declamations and invectives of the Indian

press and public men and to disappear in the near future before the advance of new ideas and aspirations.

Young India has set free its women from their Oriental seclusion and superstitions, and has done away with all the discriminations against them in political and social life. A decade ago they were condemned to live within the four walls of their homes and to move within the restricted and narrow spheres of domestic affairs and household drudgery. They were nothing but slaves to their husbands, were valued for sensual gratification, and existed merely for purposes of reproduction. They deteriorated morally and physically in the fetid atmosphere and vicious surroundings of the harem, sinking to the lowest depths of ignorance and vice. Young Indians, with Western notions, could not tolerate that their wives and daughters should be subjected to such harsh conditions and sacrificed to the vagaries of a perverted social system and baneful custom. They have emancipated Indian women from their life of seclusion and privacy, and have extricated them from all the disabilities under which they labored and suffered. Women move about unveiled, mingle freely with men, go to shows and other places of amusement with their husbands. Many Indian women are taking a prominent part in the nationalist movement and doing all in their power to secure the freedom of their country.

One of the finest features in the life of contemporary India is the growth of humanitarian feeling and the spirit of social service. The nationalist movement has so aroused young men and young women that they are working hard for the good of India. Twenty years ago the members of the so-called upper class shunned the people of the lower castes, branding them as unclean, and looking upon them with unmitigated contempt and derision. But they have thrown aside their prejudices and are doing all in their power to raise their less-fortunate countrymen to a high plane of social and moral existence. It is widely recognized that the patriot best shows his love for India by service, by doing away with caste injustices and inequalities, and by fighting poverty, hunger, disease, and other social evils. Social service is becoming a sort of religious creed with the younger generation, and societies are formed all

over the country to look after the welfare of the depressed classes and to redeem them from their wretched conditions and slavery. The Arya Samaj and numerous other religious and social organizations are working for the uplift of the lower classes of Indian society and are exerting their efforts to reclaim the untouchables and aboriginal tribes.

This humanitarian movement takes no account of race, religion, caste, or sex, but extends its hand of fellowship to all Indian communities and races. It is one of the most potent unifying forces and its message of human brotherhood and goodwill is knitting the Indian people into one indissoluble bond and cohesion. It is emphasizing the fact that all Indians, irrespective of race or creed, are brothers, having common interests and common aspirations; and that there exists among them such a similarity of intellectual and social habits and moral feeling that it marks them off sharply from all other sections of mankind. Hindus, Moslems, Sikhs, and Parsis live and die under the same sun; cradle in infancy and grow to manhood in the same maternal songs; strengthen their bodies and form their character and traits by the same climate and environment; and partake of and subsist on the same food. They think the same thoughts, aspire to the same ideals, and move and have their being in Mother India. India, in other words, is a nation, a people, a country: its interests are one and the same. There is a national India, as there is not a national Europe, and the grasp of this spiritual conception is a sure sign of the future birth of composite Indian nationality.

It is no dilettante movement we are dealing with, but an intellectual and spiritual upheaval of incalculable force and volcanic energy, with a new organ and a new philosophy of life behind it. After centuries of decadence and stagnation, India is entering upon a new period of her history and is coming into her own. She is being born again. Freed from the chains of shallow tradition and vitalized by close contact with the main currents of modern thinking, she is beginning to see newer visions and hear newer calls. Hitherto she has looked upon the world from the purely universal and transcendental standpoint, and has tried to solve the riddles

surrounding human destiny on a basis of tuition; she is now knowing it after the practical and material and beholding it on the objective plane. Experience has taught her that all search for divine order in some timeless sphere issues in nothing; that there is a scientific order in the world obeying the laws of uniformity and precision; that to look for divine harmony beyond the world and to see the life of the universe in regions which cannot be brought within the range of human experience is fruitless; that the phenomenal world is not a maya but in truth a great reality; and that the present system of things contains in its roots the germs of all perfection and the sources of infinite development. She is seeking her salvation not in the barren abstractions of metaphysics and a negation of the practical contents of life as before, but in the rational and material exploitation of the universe and in the exaltation and fulfilment of the social life.

AFTER MANCHURIA

by

SYNGMAN RHEE
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ON October 7, 1908, Baron Aehrenthal, then prime minister of Austria-Hungary, startled the world with the announcement that the Austrian Empire had annexed the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. At the news, a perceptible shiver ran through the chancellories. The annexation directly violated the Treaty of Berlin, made in 1878, of which Austria was a signatory. It also violated the secret stipulations between Austria and Russia, and no less than secondary and covert understanding among European governments that was sometimes more important than public documents.

By discerning men everywhere the aggression was viewed with grave misgivings. If treaties could thus be at any moment shattered at the will or whim of any power supposed to be bound by them, of what use or value was any international covenant? And where for any nation lay any security except in bigger guns and better army? Benevolent and generous souls had entertained hopes of a world in which moral obligations should be more powerful than armaments. All these hopes seemed now turned to fantastic dreams. After all, nothing really counted in this grim world but the mailed fist and ruthless purpose.

Some of the nations, notably Great Britain, ventured upon a protest. To these, Austria, significantly and ominously supported by Germany, replied with aplomb that the thing was done and the incident closed. A *fait accompli* is not to be debated. The proposal was made that the signatories to the demolished Treaty of Berlin should meet and consider what should be done with the fragments. To this Austria and Germany agreed, but with the

proviso that the annexation was not to be discussed at such a convention. Thereupon protest died away upon the autumn air, whereto it was kin.

Among the people of the two provinces thus handed about like so much mackerel, the annexation caused the bitterest resentment. They were Serbs. For years upon years, and especially since the Turco-Russian war had freed them from Turkish misrule, they had cherished a fond hope that they might be united with their fellow Serbs. The iron heel of Austria was hateful because it ended this hope, because it was alien and because it was imposed relentlessly, after the manner of all such dominations. From this time on, these people lived in a state of fiery unrest.

On August 29, 1910, the government of Japan announced to the world that the Japanese Empire had annexed the ancient kingdom of Korea. The news caused more uneasiness than astonishment. From the close of the Russo-Japanese war, Japan had been steadily encroaching upon Korea, over which she had assumed on her own motion a kind of protectorate. Yet the annexation was in direct violation of the treaty of 1901, the defensive and offensive treaty with Korea by which Japan guaranteed the independence and territorial integrity of Korea and the honor and safety of the Korean imperial house. Observers well acquainted with the temper and psychology of the East viewed the demarche with forebodings; men zealous for the sanctity of treaties with profound regret.

One nation, Russia, ventured upon a protest, proposing that Korea should be erected into a neutral and buffer state. To this Japan replied that the annexation was a *fait accompli.* Things already done in international affairs cannot be debated.

For more than three hundred years, Japan had looked longingly upon Korea as a portal of escape from her island isolation. So far back as 1592 she had made a desperate attempt to realize this dream and had been driven back by Korea and China after a long and sanguinary conflict in which nearly 3,000,000 Koreans were killed—90 per cent of the perished being non-combatants. In the war of 1894 between China and Japan, Japan had seized the Liautung Peninsula but by the western nations, acting in concert,

was obliged to give it up. After the war with Russia, Japan, urging that the loose and incompetent administration of Korea was a menace to her own safety and welfare, just as she speaks of China today, gradually developed her conception of a protectorate. The initiated were not deceived. From the beginning they knew that absorption was the real purpose and would be the end.

Among the people of Korea the annexation was bitterly resented. The population was more than 20,000,000, unwarlike, mostly unarmed. Their country was one of the oldest in the world being coeval with China and having much the same origin. More than once it had successfully resisted invasion and with heroic deeds maintained its independence. It had therefore the great force of tradition to strengthen the natural instinct of its people to be let alone.

The Japanese introduced certain material improvements. They cleaned up the ancient city of Seoul, the capital, and made it appear modern and sanitary. They brought in new methods of agriculture and speeded production. They developed the coal mines, which had been from the beginning one of their objectives; they fostered commerce, they constructed highways. But they were an alien people, doing these things with pistol in hand. The universal experience of mankind has shown that no material improvements and no benignities of civilization are ever viewed by a subjugated people as compensation for the loss of liberty. The Koreans continually revolted and conspired against their foreign rulers. Every uprising in fact and some in fancy were put down with unrelenting severity; every conspiracy was broken up with bloodshed and executions. The iron heel ground Korea into the dust but did not change its spirit. After twenty years of Japanese rule the Koreans were as restlessly insubmissive to it as they had been at the beginning.

On September 18, 1931, a Japanese army invaded Manchuria, one of the provinces of China, for the expressed purpose of safeguarding the lives and property of Japanese subjects there.

News of the invasion produced among all western nations a profound consternation. It directly violated what is called the Kel-

logg Pact, by which the nations bound themselves not to resort to warlike means to settle their disputes. It directly violated what is called the Nine Power Treaty, by which the nations bound themselves to respect and defend the territorial integrity of China. To both of these covenants, Japan was a signatory. It also directly violated the American policy of the Open Door, to which Japan had more than once pledged solemnly her support.

Throughout civilization it violated, or largely destroyed the hopes of good men that war had been banished and the reign of peace had begun upon earth.

In the three months that followed the invasion, repeated protests were made to Japan and disregarded. More than once she was reminded of her obligations under the Kellogg Pact, under the Nine Power Treaty, under the covenant of the League of Nations. In effect, she disregarded all. Her armies steadily advanced into Chinese territory, driving the Chinese troops with defeat after defeat and heavy losses. Into the world that had hoped for peace, war had come again. On December 29, 1931, the Japanese armies expelled from Manchuria the last of the Chinese troops and the conquest of Manchuria was complete. It was again the *fait accompli.*

By the people of Manchuria the invasion and subjugation of their country was regarded with bitter resentment. They were Chinese by descent and sentiment and between China and Japan is a grudge older than the ill-will between France and Germany and much more deeply rooted. Manchurians knew well what had been the fate of Korea; they had no willingness to share it.

The bitterness of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina smouldered eight years, showing itself in ugly looks, ugly demeanor and, wherever possible, in disobedience. On June 28, 1914, it had a more spectacular and memorable manifestation. At Sarajevo, capital of Bosnia, a nationalist fanatic shot and killed the heir to the Austrian throne and started the Gerat War, up to that time the world's incomparable disaster.

The bitterness of the people of Korea smouldered nine years. All this time their emperor dwelt in his palace, a prisoner in the

hands of the Japanese. So long as he lived he was felt to be a rallying point for the Korean "insurgents." On January 20, 1919, he died suddenly after he had refused to sign a statement for the Peace Conference at Versailles that the condition of his people was happy and contented under Japanese rule. The cause of his death was given out as apoplexy. His physician, who was not allowed to see his body, scoffed at the statement, saying it was physically impossible.

All Koreans believed that he had been assassinated. The result was the strangest uprising in history. A group of 33 nationalist leaders met in secret and drew up a Declaration of Independence, setting forth in temperate and moderate language the reasons why Korea should be free. This they made arrangements to have printed and distributed secretly throughout the country. Then they ate a farewell dinner together, telephoned the Japanese police what they had done and sat down to await arrest.

This was on March 1, 1919. The next day the Declaration of Independence broke forth in three hundred towns and villages covering every corner of the country. Despite the vigilance of the Japanese police and secret service, the Koreans had managed to print a million copies of it from wooden block. Boys on bicycles went along the highways and byways leaving a copy at every house. Women wore it on their dresses; walls were placarded with it. Mere possession of it was proclaimed a capital crime. Then men and boys plastered it upon their breasts and offered themselves to the Japanese bayonets.

This, the only wholly peaceful uprising ever recorded of any people, was suppressed with extreme severity by the Japanese troops. It is better not to dwell upon the worst phases of the suppression, as set down by independent missionary and other witnesses. The physical manifestations of the movement were crushed but not its spirit. That smoulders still to flame up again at the first opportunity.

(To be concluded)

CHINA AND JAPAN — WORLD CRISIS

by

GROVER CLARK

Consultant on Far Eastern Affairs

THERE is plenty of room in Asia for both China and Japan. It is vital to the interests of both countries, moreover, that each should continue to do a growing and mutually profitable business with the other. China, while not absolutely dependent on her neighbor, needs to be able to sell raw materials to Japan and to buy the products of Japan's factories. Japan cannot live as a modern industrialized nation without access to Chinese raw materials and markets.

The Japanese leaders have realized this inevitable dependence of Japan on China.

Japan's military men thought Japan could get Chinese materials and markets by getting control of China. Hence, in all sincerity of patriotic purpose, they have followed a consistent and determined policy of extending Japanese authority wherever possible in China's government and territory. In pursuing this policy, however, the Japanese military leaders have shown themselves most shortsighted, for while they have secured certain holdings for Japan they also have aroused a deep-seated bitterness against Japan in China.

Others in Japan have been more far-sighted—the civilian leaders in business and in the bovernment. They realize as deeply as the militarists that Japan must have Chinese markets and raw materials. They are as sincerely patriotic. But they also realize that in the long run Japan can be sure of what she needs from China not by annexing China in whole or in part but only by winning the friendship of the Chinese people.

The policies of the military and the civilian leaders in Japan are fundamentally opposed. Sometimes the government has been in the hands of one group, sometimes of the other. Consequently there have been striking inconsistencies between the actions of Japan at one time and another as well as between her actions and the statements of her foreign ministers. This has been possible—it has been almost inevitable—partly because of the basic difference of policy between the civilian and the military leaders and partly because, under the Japanese constitution, Japan has in effect a double government. The military and the civilian branches are each responsible directly to the Emperor, but neither is in full authority over the other.

The people of Japan on the whole have been and are on the side of the civilians—supporting, let us say, the Foreign Office against the War Office. The steady growth in the last twenty-five years of effective participation by the people in governmental affairs has brought increasing power to the civilian leaders. The rapid expansion of Japan's trade with China and the disastrous consequences to Japanese industry of the several anti-Japanese boycotts in China which have followed particularly glaring acts by the Japanese military have combined to reinforce the conviction of the civilian leaders that Japan's policy should be one of "conciliation" looking toward the establishment of friendly and hence mutually profitable relations with China. The military group in Japan have felt their hold on affairs slipping and have made several moves in China which were intended primarily to create a situation which would stir feeling in Japan so that they could get back control in their own country.

This was the chief reason for the Japanese military moves in Shantung in 1928. It was, to an even more marked extent, the principal reason for the military moves in Manchuria in the autumn of 1931. In both cases, the moves were made primarily in Japanese domestic politics rather than in Japan's relations with China. The military failed in their effort in 1928. They succeeded temporarily in 1931. It is impossible to say what the final outcome will be of the 1931-32 incidents, but certain results are obvious:

The depth and bitterness of the feeling against Japan in China has been incalculably increased. Fortunately, in this case as in earlier instances of Japanese military moves in China, the realization is fairly widespread among the Chinese that the responsibility for the aggressive actions rests not with the Japanese people but with the Japanese military. When the power of the Japanese military is destroyed once and for all, therefore, it will be comparatively less difficult to clear away the thorns of anti-Japanese feeling in China. It will take some time, however, and no little clear proof in action on Japan's part to open the way to really friendly cooperation between these two peoples.

The feeling in China has become very much more widespread that in spite of all the world's talk about outlawing war, it still is true as it has been for centuries that force is the final arbiter and breeder of respect between nations and that, consequently, if China would secure her full national rights and international honor she must follow the policy which Japan adopted when she began to prepare to take a place in the modern world: the policy of militarization. This creates a very grave potential menace to world civilization.

The effectiveness of the peace machinery of the world has been sharply challenged, for the first time since the World War. That machinery has moved slowly, but it is much too early to say it has failed. In any case, the lesson that the peace machinery must be made really effective has been driven home to the world.

The Japanese military are driving Japan full speed down the hill toward complete economic collapse. The world does not need to help China against Japan. It needs to help the Japanese people against the Japanese military in order to save Japan from ruin, and to convince the peoples of the East—and of the West, too—that justice has indeed replaced force between nations.

There is ample room in Asia for both China and Japan—provided the peoples of these two countries are allowed to work together in friendly and mutually-profitable cooperation in the development and use of the economic resources and capacities which they have. Such cooperation will be of great profit not to the

peoples of the East alone but to the entire world. Antagonism will mean ruin for Japan, serious injury to China and a grave set-back for the other nations.

There come times when events over a few short months, like landslides tumbling into the bed of a river, turn the whole future course of history in one direction instead of another. Such a time was the successful resistance of the Greeks against the Persians. Such another time was the final defeat of the Moors in their effort to push into all Europe. The development of civilization would have been profoundly different had events turned otherwise than they did in either of these cases. Whether the difference would have been for good or ill, we have no way of knowing.

Today we are in the midst of another of these crucial times. The world cannot longer remain divided between an East and a West isolated from each other. For good or ill, a fusion is taking place and will continue. Whether that fusion will be accompanied by growing cooperation or by intensified antagonism will determine whether before many more decades have passed we will have a civilized and unified world or a world in which civilization has been destroyed in a welter of bloodshed. The direction in which the stream of history will turn depends in very large measure on whether the organized nations now wage peace effectively in dealing with the crisis which the Japanese military leaders have created in the relations between Japan and China.

CHINA'S CHANGING CULTURE

by

FRANK RAWLINSON

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CHINA'S present cultural situation is "transitional." That is the keynote of this article. Incipient changes are permeating the political, economic, social and religious aspects of China's life. These changes are widespread, dynamic and still growing. None of them have, however, as yet become dominant in China's present experience; none of them are yet embodied in a program that promises to be permanent. The present cultural situation is, therefore, one of much disturbance and new beginnings.

Two diverse streams of cultural influence are flowing into one another. The result is a choppy sea. On the one hand China's modern intelligentsia are striving to modernize or westernize China, to some extent at least. This stream of cultural influence flows, at times, swiftly. On the other hand there is the river of China's ancient cultural life, which while it still moves sluggishly has, nevertheless, a tremendous momentum. The cultural area and numbers of people affected by this ancient river are much larger than those affected, effectively at least, by the swifter modern stream. This latter, however, is more significant by reason of the greater vitality of its minority leadership. The masses of the Chinese people are living and struggling much as usual except where disturbed by military operations and bandit depredations. One needs to go but a short distance from a westernized city like Shanghai to find oneself drifting on China's ancient cultural river. The cultural changes that are noted in this chapter will, therefore, appear superficial or deep according to the location of the observer

or the extent of his experience of one or the other of these contrasting streams of cultural influence.

Nevertheless fundamental changes are emerging in China's culture. Those outside of China, as a matter of fact, hear more of these than of the still influential ancient cultural life. That the old culture of China is actually merging into something new is admitted by prominent modern Chinese leaders. Sun Yat-Sen is the outstanding influence in initiating these changes. In the mind of China's modern youth he has supplanted the older sages. In 1919 he took a public oath in which among other things he declared it his purpose to "destroy the old and build the new." That is the keynote of the modern Nationalist Movement. That this aim has actually been made effective to some extent is evident in the set of educational principles, adopted in 1921, at the bottom of which we find this aim for the modern school system: "to take care of the changes from the old system to the new." Yet by the side of this emphasis upon and recognition of the need for a new culture goes the revaluation of China's old culture. This heads up in such men as Liang Chi-Ch'ao and Liang Seu-Ming. Both these emphases are found in China's modern educational efforts.

The meeting of these modern and ancient streams of cultural influence—the old and the new—is revealed in two somewhat divergent aspects of the present situation—conflict and fusion.

Culturally China is in a state of conflict. The details of this conflict are dealt with in more than one place later. But a brief resumé of some of its psychological aspects is in order here. It is sometimes said that the Chinese family is disintegrating. It is more correct to say that it is *beginning* to disintegrate. Western individualistic emphases and family ideals have begun to undermine the still strongly entrenched solidarity of China's family life. In the case of many individuals this aspect of the conflict is tense and dominant. But it is only a beginning! Again the old domestic handicraft with its lower and simpler standards of living is in competition with the western machine and factory system and their somewhat higher standards of living. In many places China's old superstitions and customs are being challenged by modern scien-

tific and philosophical ideas. For instance the claim of ancestral worship is being weakened because many modern Chinese find their ancient rationalistic queryings anent the existence of the "soul" being augmented by western materialistic science. This aspect of the conflict is particularly evident in connection with things religious. The main idea of the older education was that of the moral training of men with special reference to one vocation—political service. The lure of this long-preferred vocation is still evident in the large number of modern students interested therein. Modern Chinese educationalists, however, aim primarily at training for *citizenship* which includes practically all life-vocations. All this means that China's older thought-patterns are in conflict with those from the West. The old are breaking down and the new slowly emerging. All this serves to show, moreover, that the most inclusive cultural change in China is psychological.

But there is a point within this conflict where the fusion of Chinese and non-Chinese cultures is taking place. This also will become evident in much said later. A tendency to political fusion is found in the writings of Sun Yet-Sen and the Nationalist activities built up around his influence. He urged the democratization of China and its modern industrialization and at one and the same time advocated training in China's ancient virtues. In organization and propaganda the Nationalist Movement is distinctly western. It is also shot through and through with old Chinese psychology. Modern labor movements in Canton are sometimes built up on the older guilds. Their main trend, however, is western. Modern education tends towards a western content and form. Yet the critical spirit which subjected China's literary inheritance to close scrutiny during the Tsing dynasty is still in evidence. In method, however, this critical attitude is now guided by western principles of documentary research. Such a critical spirit has usually been active when China is in the throes of political anarchy, as is now again the case. In this connection some of the best work done at the National University of Peking was in its Sinological Research department where leadership in the critical revaluation of China's cultural heritage was most active. The same tendency is apparent

in religious circles. Buddhism has had a revival. Confucianism has lost its old prestige and privileges. This process of deprivileging Confucianism came to a conclusion officially in a recent order of the Nationalist Government to discontinue the spring and autumn sacrifice to Confucius. Nevertheless there has been a revival of interest in the cultural aspects of Confucianism. Both Confucianism and Buddhism have sought to promote their ideas in recent years by methods mainly western. Between the years 1914-22 appeared a considerable number of esoteric or eclectic religious movements. These were widespread including in their membership both official and ordinary classes. They were, in the main, a move on the part of the older intelligentsia to conserve China's ancient religious and cultural values. Several of these societies included Christ in their pantheon; some of them revealed a curious mingling of Chinese and Christian ideas.

Just how far this tendency to cultural fusion will go cannot be said. Nevertheless it must be noted as one aspect of China's present cultural situation. It is the nucleus of the emerging psychological reconstruction. It is at this point that China is being modernized. Culturally, therefore, China is looking in a new direction and starting on a new road. This cultural fusion indicates that the present transitional situation is one not only of conflict but one in which China is beginning to *assimilate* extra-Chinese cultural values and turn them to her own use.

The cause of this transitional cultural situation is the impact of the West upon China during the last century and a quarter. China has been invaded by western culture. This invasion has taken place along two lines. (1) Political, commercial and industrial mechanization. (2) Religious and intellectual. These do, it is true, overlap but are nevertheless distinct. The religious aspect—which correlates with the intellectual—of this western cultural expansion into the life of China will be dealt with somewhat in detail later. Suffice it to say here that almost every group aspect of religious life as known in the West now exists in China in some degree.

The *chief cause* of the cultural changes now taking place in China has been the political-mechanical impact of the West. The

main steps in this cultural invasion and in China's reaction thereto are as follows. The Sino-Japanese war of 1894-5 drove foreign political power and pressure deep into the official consciousness of China. It roused official resentment. The Boxer Movement of 1900 was, in contrast therewith, an incipient patriotic movement. Both were due to the fear of foreign encroachment. The Revolution of 1911 was an attempt to reform China's political life with a view to meeting effectively foreign political pressure. The Manchus were forced to abdicate. The people of China grasped her political rudder. This hold, in spite of adverse reactionary movements, they have never lost. The Nationalist Movement is the logical fruit of these earlier attempts. The events of May 30, 1925, and concurrent events, did much to articulate popular feeling in its favor. The attack on foreigners in Nanking in March, 1927, revealed the serious split in its ranks and did much to check its progress. Nevertheless it won and holds nominal control of much of China and has pushed forward the problem of reforming her domestic politics. In spite of its failures and the prevalent disillusionment about it resulting therefrom, it has stirred China more deeply and received more general popular support than any other political movement in this period of change.

A contributing cause to these cultural changes was the process of cultural exchange represented in the going of large numbers of Chinese students abroad. This actually began before the shock of the military defeat of 1894-5; for it was in 1871 that Yung Wing took 112 students to the United States, for which purpose the Manchu Government allocated Mexico $1,500,000. This was a sincere effort to learn from the West though there was probably not then any general feeling that such learning was needed to enable China to withstand foreign political pressure.

It is difficult to outline the motives back of these cultural changes. Yet some of them are evident enough. Fear of foreign encroachment has been and still is prominent though it ebbs and flows. With it has moved the desire to learn the secret of western political power and cultural progress. To learn and use western "scientific armament" was one of the early motives. All this is

included in China's desire to win back the territory and prestige lost to the West and at the same time achieve a new and equal place internationally. Two other motives have become more prominent in recent years. First, the urgent necessity of rehabilitating China's domestic life. Sun Yat-Sen actually put together in his writing a determination to free China from foreign political control direct or indirect, with an urgent plea for cooperation with foreign capitals for the furtherance of China's industrial needs. He criticizes both foreign nations and China with fearless frankness. Both these contrasting motives are still operative. The desire for political autonomy goes hand in hand with that for international cooperation and cultural exchange. It is another important feature of this transitional situation. Second, the desire of Christians and returned students that China should make a worthwhile contribution to the cultural life of the world.

(*To be continued*)

MAITREYA

"Peace to all Beings"

by

NICHOLAS ROERICH
Artist, Author, Explorer

ON a piece of palm bark, with a sharp stilus, a friendly Bhiku is writing in Singalese. Does he molest anyone? Is he writing an appeal? No. With a smile he is sending a greeting to the far-off lands beyond the seas. A greeting to the good, benevolent people. And he does not expect a reply. It is simply a benevolent arrow into space.

In Kandy, in the ancient capital of Lanka-Ceylon, we are guided along the old traces of the past: The Temple of the Holy Tooth, the Temple of Para-Nirvana, the wondrous treasury of sacred books in their hammered-silver binding-boards—"And what is there in the small closed temple?" . . . "That is the temple of Maitreya the Lord of the Future."—"May one enter?"—

The Guide smiles and shakes his head benignly. "In this temple none may enter save the chief priest."

Thus, the effulgent future should not be contaminated! We know it lives. We know its symbol is Maitreya, Metteya, Maitri,—Love, Compassion. Upon this luminous sign of all-understanding, all embracingness, the great future is being built. It is pronounced with the most reverent solemnity. It must not be defiled or blasphemed by lightmindedness, curiosity, levity and doubt. The Vishnu Puranas, and all other Puranas—that is, all the ancient covenants, speak in their highest expressions of the luminous future which humanity serves, each individual in his own way.

Messiah, Maitreya, Muntazar—and the entire glorious succession of names, which in such diversity has expressed this very

same sacred and hearty striving of humanity. With especial exultation the prophets speak of the future. Read all the pages of the Bible, where the best hopes of the people are expressed. Read the Covenant of Buddha about Maitreya. See how gloriously the Moslems speak of the Prophet of the Future.

How beautifully India speaks of the end of the Black Age of Kali Yuga and the glorious beginning of the White Age of Satva Yuga. How majestic is the image of the Kalki Avatar upon the white steed! With equal heartiness the far-off Oirots await the White Burkhan. Our Old Believers who heroically go in quest of the "White Waters" in the Himalyas, make this difficult journey only in the name of the future. In the very same name of the luminous future, the Lama, with tears, tells us of the treasures and the might of the great Rigden Djyepo, who will annihilate evil and reestablish justice. Towards the future, led the conquests of Gessar Khan. Each New Year the Chinaman lights his candles and prays to the Lord of the Future. And in Ispahan, the white steed is kept saddled for the Great Coming. If you want to contact the best cords of humanity, speak with the people of the future, of that to which the human mind aspires even in the far-off deserts. Some especial heartiness and solemnity pervades these strivings towards the transfiguration of the world.

In these darkest times, in the suffocating void of thought, with especially evocative force, resounds the encouraging voice about the Great Advent, about the New Era, about the time when humanity will be able wisely and inspiringly to utilize all its predestined possibilities. Each person interprets this Radiant Age in his own way, but in one thing all are alike—precisely, that they interpret it, with the language of the heart. This is not a casual eclecticism. On the contrary, it is just the opposite: from all directions—to the one. Because in every human heart, in the entire human kingdom, exists one and the same striving to Bliss. And all are laboring to reunite, and their substance, these scattered spherules of Mercury, if they are not too heavy with oil and not too fluffy with dust. What an example there is in such a simple act as the outer soiling of the spherule of Mercury. One may still

glimpse the trembling of the inner substance, but the surface is already besmirched. It has become grimy through outside depravity and has thus become isolated from the universal consciousness. The path to the universal body of all-unity is already intercepted. But if the surface is not yet soiled, with what impetuous striving these scattered drops fuse again with their primary source! And you can not identify them any longer, nor will you distinguish the small particle which was assimilated by the whole. But it lives. It, the entire, exists in It, the Great. The force of all-unity joined it and forged it to the universal concept. All teachings know this universal body under various names.

In the most unexpected manifestations we meet with these all-unifying signs. In the posthumous writings of the Elders of the desert were sometimes found unexpected indications about the Himalayas. These writings, Mandalas and other extraordinary signs arouse one's amazement and astonishment. But the Lama from the far-off mountain monastery, when asked about it, smiles and says: "Above all divisions, there exists one great unity, accessible only to a few."

Thus are merged the trends of thought of the most seemingly distant human individualities. In these highest signs are being erased denial and condemnation—most hideous aspects which obscure the light of the heart. Often in our present day, we invent special expressions for the ancient understanding. We say pensively, "He understands psychology." This means in essence that he does not deny and does not condone his ignorance. We say, "He is practical and knows life," which means in essence that he does not condemn and thus does not set obstacles for himself. We say, "He knows the source"—which means he does not disparage because he knows how harmful is each disparagement.

In "The Resurrection in the Flesh," N. O. Lossky cites: "A worker who opposes his striving to the strivings of all other workers is in a state of isolation from them and dooms himself to utilize only his own creative force; hence, he is capable of producing only the most elementary actions, such as repulsion. The release from such impoverishment of life is reached by way of evolution which

creates higher and higher steps of concreate One-ness."

"The members of the heavenly kingdom, not entering into a state of resistance, do not commit any acts of repulsion in space. Consequently, they do not have a material body; their transfigured body consists only of manifestations which are luminous, sonorous, warm, etc., but which do not exclude each other, are egoistically isolated, but are capable of mutual interpenetration. Having attained a concreate One-beness, which means having absorbed the strivings of each other, and the tasks of Divine Wisdom, they collectively create the Kingdom of perfect Beauty and all-manifesting Good. And they so create their bodies that, being mutually interpenetrating, they are not in possession of one personality, but serve all, complementing each other, and forming individual omni-entities, which are organs of the all-embracing wholeness of the Heavenly Kingdom. The free and loving unanimity of the members of the Heavenly Kingdom is so great that they all build, one may say, 'One body and one spirit.'"

"Concerning the super-spaciousness, its significance is well expressed in the creations of the Father of the Church the Holy Gregori Nisky. 'The soul is not confined to spacial limitation,' says he, 'therefore, for the spiritual essence, no great difficulty is involved in pervading each of the elements, with which at some time it has come into union, during integration, since it is not divided in parts by the contrariness of the elements; the spiritual and dimensionless essence is not affected by the consequence of distance. The friendly connection and acquaintance with the former parts of the body is forever retained in the soul.'"

To whom, then, will the words of our famous contemporary philosopher be especially clear and close? Certainly, a high lama will express hearty response as well as benevolent understanding for them. Moreover in his realistic metaphysics he will find a corresponding substantiation for them, and with elation he will join the discussion about the spirit; in other words, this constitutes his striving. The universal body, the lama will recognize as *Darmakaya.* The highest communion of the representative of spirit, he will call *Dorjepundok.* And chiefly he will do it not in the

spirit of discord or disputatiously, but in that benevolent communion by which all harmful boundaries are so easily erased.

In the East also they understand Metalnikoff's idea of the immortality of the cell-unit. The idea of unity, indivisibility, indestructibility, is appreciated. The one who understands *Dharma,* can also speak of immortality. With benevolence, they understand de Broglie, Millikan, Raman, and Einstein. The main thing is that there should be language of approach. For mutual understanding, one must know the inner and outer languages. One must know not only the outer hieroglyph; one must know the derivation of the sign, the evolution of the symbol, in order that an incomprehensible exterior should not become a new barrier.

Is it then so difficult to unite in Bliss? One person may consider the sacredness of the Ganges as superstition; but a true scholar will give its due to the wisdom of the people. It is truly beautiful to contact the facts and foundations of the people's wisdom. The waters of the Ganges are revered as sacred. And it is astounding that the countless multitudes of swarming people do not contaminate each other in the waters of the sacred river in Benares. But in addition to faith and to psychic protection, nature adds one more precious factor: Only recently it was discovered that special bacteria exist in the water of the Ganges which destroy other nests of contaminations. The old knowledge manifests here its firm foundation.

All signs of unity are touching. The Buddhists see the ikon of Saint Josav, the Hindu Prince and wish to have a copy of it. The lamas see a fresco of Nardo Diccione in the Pisa *Campo Santo* and begin to explain its contents and the significance of the painted symbols. And when you read to them about Saint Josav from The Golden Legend they smile cordially. And in this smile is that same benevolence and containment which made room for Aristotle on the portals of the Cathedral of Chartres together with the Saints and Prophets. And also the images of the Greek Philosopher upon the frescoes of the churches of Bukovina. The image of the Muhammedan Akbar is in a Hindu Temple. Lao Tze and Confucius are in an aureole of Catholic saints. All the black Madonnas and

Rockamadura are from Negro soil! And King Solomon is in the Greek Orthodox Church of Abyssinia. If only one does not close one's eyes intentionally, a multitude of benevolent facts will flow in. Verily, following the covenant of Origen, "We see with the eyes of the heart."

And not only do ancient Chartres and Bokovina revere the great Philosophers upon their portals. The newspapers of New York thus communicate the news about the Riverside Church: "Confucius, Buddha and Muhammed, together with Christ are modeled on the portals of the Baptist church. The new era of religious tolerance is expressively symbolized in the images, where great scientists and philosophers, many of whom in their time were condemned of heresy, occupy a place together with saints, angels and leaders of religions. . . Moses is modeled shoulder to shoulder with Confucius; after Buddha and Muhammed follow Origen, St. Francis of Assisi, Dante, Pythagoras, Plato, Socrates, Aristotle, St. Thomas Aquinas, Spinoza and Archimedes. . . . Together with Dr. Fosdick who gave this testimony of his broad thinking, another representative of free thought, Dr. Holmes, has announced in a sermon that the temples of the future will represent the synthesis of all great religions of the world."

Similarly speak also the sermons of Dr. Guthrie, in one of the oldest churches of New York, St. Marks in-the-Bouwerie. All recollect his Buddha day and days devoted to other leaders of religious thought. The new temple of the Episcopalian Church on Park Avenue, under the leadership of the eminent minister Dr. Norwood, strives to the same blissful synthesis.

If a venerable Moslem affirms that the Tomb of Christ is in Srinagar, and begins in the most devout manner to enumerate all the traditions and cures which have taken place near this Tomb, one cannot reprove him severely; for he speaks with the most benevolent intentions. Likewise, you will not interject objections when in Kashgar they speak with conviction about the tomb of the Holy Virgin being in the Miriam Mazar. Neither will you protest when they speak to you of Elijah the Prophet in the upper Indus, for, first of all, you feel their benevolence, and secondly, in substance

there is nothing to contradict. Let us altogether regard with care all these benevolent signs of unification.

Or will you in wrath speak against the throne of King Solomon in Srinagar? On the contrary, you will rejoice that these thrones are many in Asia and according to the words of well-wishing, the wise King Solomon in his all-unifying force, flies even now above the vistas of Asia on his flying carpet. You will rejoice and remember the Amos Society in New York and its broad and benevolent aims.

There is special joy when you hear the great names of Messiah, Maitreya, Muntazar, united and pronounced in the same place with the same benevolent reverence and unifying signs.

Let us remember the touching Tibetan legend about the origin of many sanctuaries, and let us especially remember this now when these benevolent signs do not bind us with the fetters of the past, but exultingly impel us towards the future.

And what is the invocation of the wise Apostle Paul when he writes to all ends of the world, to the Romans, the Hebrews, Corinthians, the Epesians, and Galatians; "Purge out therefore the old leaven, that you may be a new lump."—"Therefore let us keep the feast not with the old leaven." "Him that is weak in the faith receive ye, but not to doubtful disputations." "For one believeth that he may eat all things; another, who is weak eateth herbs."

"Let us therefore follow after the things which make for peace and things wherewith one may edify another."

"Every man's work shall be revealed; for the day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by fire; and the fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is."

"When they shall say 'Peace and Safety,' then sudden destruction cometh upon them."

"Quench not the Spirit."

"Let us therefore cast off the works of darkness, and let us put on the armor of light."

"Reach love, be zealous of spiritual gifts."

"To write the same things to you, to me indeed is not grievious, but for you it is safe."

"What is the command and prayer of spiritual reunion? For the future, the armor of light is needed. Isaiah also, not only deploring the past, but in zeal for the future, gave his forewarning with the ominous words: "Maher—Shelal—Ash—Baz."

Not for the past, but for the future traveler, did Akbar plant the young trees along the roads of India.

What can be worse than to remove something and to leave "the site empty?" Says Sloto Ust, "And when the soul diverts from love, then its mental gaze is clouded."

Verily multi-precious are the unifying signs! We do not forget the word of Vivekenanda about Christ, "If I would have met Christ during my life I would have washed his feet with the blood of my heart." Are there many Christians who have in their hearts the same vital and uplifted feeling? And can one forget the words of the same Vivekenanda, who asked the Chicago Congress of Religions: "If you consider your teaching so supreme, why then do you not follow its covenants?"

Can one forget the fact that once when a Christian church was in an impoverished condition and was threatened with being sold at auction, Jews voluntarily and spontaneously bought the Christian sanctuary and returned it to the bosom of the Metropolite. The Metropolite E. will affirm this.

Is it not in the name of bliss that the Rabbi Cabalist tells you: "You are also Israel if you search for light." And will you not smile benevolently at the *Namtar* narrated by the Central Asiatic Bakshi, concerning the miracles of the great Issa-Christ? And will you not listen after midnight in Kashmir to the glorification of Christ from the lips of the Moslem choir, accompanied by the Sithars and fantastic drums? Also I recollect all the reverential and deeply touching words of the Moslems of Sinkiang about Issa the Great and the Best.

Or if we take a book of the Reverend James Robson, "Christ in Islam," then instead of hostile signs whispered by ignorance, we will see innumerable examples of hearty understanding and benevolence. The Old Believer sings the verses about Buddha. In the suburgans among the sacred books is placed also the New Testa-

ment. The Dravidian reads Thomas á Kempis' "Imitation of Christ." The Moslem in Central Asia speaks of the holy bells beyond the mountain which are heard at dawn by the Holy Ones. Why does the Moslem need bells? It is simply a need for the call of benevolence. To the universal White Waters are pilgrimaging the Siberian Old Believers.

Let us remember all the sayings of all ages and peoples about the Holy People.

The narrator does not even know about whom he speaks, whether of Christians, Buddhists, Moslems or Confucianists. He knows only of the benevolence of the achievements of these Holy Peoples. They, these Holy Ones, radiate an unearthly light; they fly; they hear at a distance of six months' journey; they cure, they self-sacrificingly share their last possession, they dispel darkness and untiringly create bliss upon their paths. Likewise speak also the Old Believers and Mongols and Moslems and Jews and Persians and Hindus. . . . The Saints become pan-human, they belong to the whole world as steps of the true evolution of humanity. Everything contains light. The chalice of grail is above all bliss. The divine Sophia, the all-mightiest wisdom, soars above the whole world.

The curse leads only to darkness. Not by wrath, not by succumbing, but upon the blessed milestones one can cross the most tempestuous ocean.

Here are the words from the Koran:

"O peoples of the earth, throw off all ties whatsoever, if you desire to reach the Encampment, prepared for you by God.

"Maybe then it will be possible to force the people to run away from a condition of unconcern, in which their soul exists, towards the Nest of Unity and Knowledge; will force them to drink the water of eternal Guidance." "That is the holy and eternal lot, the heritage of pure souls at the divine Table."

Here is from Cabalah, from the great Shambatyon:

Eldad Ha-Dani describes the river Shambatyon which united the children of Moses, as a stronghold of spiritual unification. The Moslem writers, Ibn-Fakich and Kasvini relate how once the

Prophet asked the Archangel Gabriel to carry him over into the site of the "Children of Moses," Banu Mussa, into the land of the righteous ones. Gelilot Herez Israel relates Shambatyon to the sacred river of India, which has healing properties. Healing unifications!

Let us not imagine that these ideas about all-understanding, about unity, are close only to innovators, who shame the dogmas.

The Orthodox Catholic and Roman Catholic churches constantly pray for the re-union of the churches, for time of peace. This hope for the most spiritual, the most heartfelt unification, is not only a dogma; it is the most life-creating, benevolent principle. And after this external reunion they hope for an era of peace. From the church pulpits we are carried into endless conferences for Peace which also, each in turn, with more or less success, dream of peaceful times. Upon this spirit the inner hope of all mankind unites. Both the most remiss and the most yearning, regenerated ones are dreaming of the days of peace and of the most splendid reunion. In the depths of the heart we understand that persecution, revilement, curses, only lead to horror, to division, to pettiness. They lead us to subtle falsehood and vile hypocrisy.

Over the bridge will come the Messiah. The Cabalists know of this unifying symbol. Upon a white horse comes the Great Rider and the comet is as a sword of light in His hand. A distinguished Abyssinian says: "We have an ancient legend that when the Saviour of the World shall come He shall pass over a stone bridge. And seven know of His coming. And when they shall see the Light, they shall fall down to earth and shall bow before it."

Is it accidental that the coming of the Messiah takes place over a bridge? What symbol is more close to the thought of unity, of reunion? Already Maitreya is seated not in Eastern posture but in Western, with lowered feet, ready for the advent. . . "Verily never has the time been as short as ours." "The time is intense." "The time is short." "The time is close," the peoples exclaim in varied tongues, trembling with expectancy, gathering the best symbols around their homes.

(*To be continued*)

RECONCILIATION TRIPS

A New Technique in the Practice of World Unity

by

CLARENCE V. HOWELL
Director

THE old technique of international relations was crude and barbarous. When two tribes met they met in mortal combat. The man who became lost and strayed away from the tribe was looked upon with suspicion and fear. When one tribe visited another tribe it was for loot.

The time came when they found a better method of obtaining weapons, food and other things they wished. Instead of presaging their bargaining with bloodshed, they approached under a flag of truce, or a peace pipe.

Later people gathered in knots around the trader to listen to strange stories of peculiar peoples. But the traders' business was a war of wits. Back of all this business was cunning, cruelty, chicanery and treachery of war. Also in diplomacy the war of wits had taken the place of butchery. Back of the old type diplomacy was the "big stick". Even today when diplomats confer they keep battleships in the offing to lend weight to their arguments. We are only the third step removed from the old technique.

Our European history is a record of continual wars between the feudal lords each subjugating the other just as our trusts are each subjugating the other.

Now for the new technique:—

A better method was used by the Quakers around Philadelphia. They met the Indians face to face. They had no battleships in the offing. They trusted their new neighbors. And for eighty years not a drop of blood was shed on either side. For about three hun-

dred years the early Christians practiced the new method. In every case the new method was a thousand per cent more efficient than the old method.

Confucius taught this new technique in China, about 600 B.C. He found the land ravished by wars, every province was trying to subdue its neighbor province. Imperialism was rampant. That young teacher began to tell about a new way of life. He did not call it a religion. He taught the relation of friend to friend, of child to parent and parent to child. He taught concerning rulers; that each ruler be humble. Like as water which always seeks the lower level let him seek to be under the people in order to attain respect of the people. He taught reciprocity and harmony. We would say good will and appreciation. As a result of practicing his teaching in about two centuries all of China was at peace and remained so for about twenty centuries. Later they constructed a great wall across Northern China rather than resort to violence. They wished to shut out those people who used the old technique. They use the new technique to this day. They call it "Jon-A-Lee". When two families quarrel or people disagree in business, if they do not come to an agreement they meet at the Tea House. Perhaps several friends gather with them. The peace maker of the community is there. They talk perhaps for hours. The peace maker tries to bring about a settlement. Finally they come to a compromise and all are at peace. They do not resort to courts. The Chinese people have found something better than courts, for courts always have in the offing police or military power.

I saw an incident in Brooklyn which illustrates the old technique versus the new. I saw two boys, perhaps twelve years of age, standing by a waste paper can, paper aflame. A policeman approached. One of the boys took to his heels and was quickly out of sight. The other boy stood erect with great poise while the policeman approached him. The policeman asked why they had set the paper afire. He spoke frankly. Looking the policeman straight in the eye, he said, "We did not. We found it burning."

The boy who ran illustrated the old technique. A dog who is cornered will either fight or run. Fighting when cornered or

running when cornered means fear and cowardice. The old technique was based on fear.

The boy who fearlessly faced the policeman knew the policeman had a power of reasoning, was a human like himself. He practiced the new technique.

The world is armed to the teeth. We all live next door. The oceans have become narrower than rivers. For neighbors to be armed to the teeth and fighting mad at each other is mighty dangerous for both neighbors. We must get rid of arms, madness, fear and suspicion. Races, nations, and religions are still practicing the old technique.

"Reconciliation Trips" is our present method of practicing the new technique. We have contacts with students from all over the United States; in fact, from all over the world. Many are suspicious of colored people, so we get together twenty-five, fifty or one hundred or more of these students and take them to meet our colored friends. We show them the beautiful homes, the monuments of architecture. We bring them in contact with works of sculpture and literature, with the poets and music of the Negro race.

We have Negro speakers who interpret to them the Negro problem as the Negro people experience that problem. We spend a whole afternoon and evening listening to their music, eat with them, meet with them and see their beautiful creations. They come away with an entirely new conception of the Negro people.

Overheard on the Harlem Trip:

"Isn't it ridiculous to think that just because we are white we are superior and have a right to dominate other people?"

"You know, Mrs. Howell, I don't believe we are any different under the skin."

"This trip has certainly given me a jolt; it has broken down all my old ideas regarding the ignorance of colored people."

We make the same kind of visits to Japanese centers. Some of our students have been thinking that Japanese people are just ready to invade the U. S. A. That they have a powerful military equipment prepared for us. We eat at the Nippon Club—exclusively Japanese, where artists, diplomats and world characters

meet. Little Japanese room built and furnished like a home in Japan—walls, paper windows, etc. We have a Japanese man tell us about their culture. It is a revelation to us. Here is a whole nation of artists, of poets. All the Japanese people are as enthusiastic for art and poetry and the enjoyment of beauty of nature as our U. S. A. people are for baseball. We visit the Japanese Garden in Prospect Park, Brooklyn. An American who has recently been to Japan tells us about the stumbling blocks which are separating us from the Japanese people.

Throughout the trip we come into friendly contact with Japanese peoples. The new technique of actually meeting Japanese peoples and having their leaders address us heals the wounds which have been created by the "old diplomacy."

On another trip we conduct Jews and Christians, Catholics and Protestants. We visit a Buddhist monastery transported direct from Tibet: a Jainist Temple from India and have a Moslem missioner with turban give the Muezzin Call to Prayer and then address us on "Islam, the Way of Peace." We have a learned Hindu lecture to us on "Oneness with Brahma the Immutable." We have a Buddhist talk to us on "The Lord Buddha." Instead of reading about their religions, we meet the people who preach. This is the new technique of dissipating religious prejudices.

We conduct a group of Protestants and Jews to Roman Catholic centers on another trip. We conduct a group of Catholic and Protestant Christians to Jewish centers on another trip; or to centers of New Thought, Theosophists, Bahais, Rosicrucians, Anthroposophists.

Since 1921, 24,889 people have attended. There were students, there were ministers, there were teachers. There were priests and rabbis. They have since gone to every part of the U. S. A. The new technique is contagious. Further information may be obtained from "Reconciliation Trips," 89 Bedford Street, New York City.

The thirty-fourth modern movement presented by WORLD UNITY in its department "The World We Live In."

ROUND TABLE

The conclusion of Hans Kohn's "Orient and Occident" this month has provided an admirable occasion for our long-planned special number devoted to the East. Dr. Kohn stands among the few who have grasped the larger implications of that Oriental social transformation which is a world movement and not merely a source of new problems in the relations of East and West. His interpretation of political and economic ferment which has produced an Eastern equivalent to Western nationalism, as a preliminary step toward a condition in which East and West can eventually meet on equal terms, and engage mutually in the supreme task of coordinating and unifying all human societies in one world organism, creates a perspective which enables us to stand apart from such occasional and inevitable "crises" as many now feel, for example, have arisen between Japan and the United States.

The impression one has after reading all the articles on the Orient in this issue is that the term "Orient" covers a bewildering complexity of human conditions. There is no such thing as Kipling's personified "East" and "West" in the sense of two simple, irreducible and unchanging values. From the area of fusion in Hawaii, to the extreme "Orientalness" of, let us say, the traditional Hindu mystic—from the Westernization which has proceeded so rapidly in Turkey, to the apparently irreconcilable attitude maintained by some one group in Japan—the Orient contains within itself a scale of variation prehaps larger than exists in the entire West. And is Soviet Russia to be reckoned as Western by its industry and economic philosophy, or Eastern by the fundamental human outlook which may, in the long run, set definite limits to and unique directions for the development of its present social experiment? What, moreover, of the Jewish "national home" in Palestine? Will this swing the scale West or East?

One is forced to look for longer cycles and shorter ones, forces and counter forces, essential conflict between public policies and social movements, in the East as in the West. Today India sharply

opposes England, but within all and behind all this revolutionary movement stands the more important opposition of the mass of millions of suffering human beings whose real enemy is not a race but a burden of social injustice rooted in a history of uncounted years and thousands of years. This morning's paper represents Japan as a grim militarist ready and willing to wage war against America or any other power that might oppose a scheme of empire aimed at the eventual control of all China, perhaps the whole of the Far East. This afternoon's paper describes the sad lot of Japanese farmers and small traders in the same terms it describes the conditions of farmers in Iowa and traders in Missouri or Kansas.

Most of the drive towards nationalism in all parts of the world, however it be officially formulated for foreign or domestic effect, is either an effort to improve social conditions within the nation or to escape the possibilities of internal revolution. The imperialism of ancient Rome had a long leash—hundreds of years intervened before Rome itself paid the price of its conquering power. The imperialism of today has practically no leash at all. It is bound to its tether; compelled to meet almost immediately the consequences of collapse and revolution behind its own lines whether or not victorious abroad.

Even conflict and crisis, whatever its immediate agents, can be resolved into one principle dominating both East and West: in this generation the past and future are locked in final struggle—the termination of one set of tendencies, the beginning of another historic period. Nothing can stay the swift current that moves peoples and institutions into a community of all-compelling mutual interest. The end of war as of peace is the education of humanity in the divine art of living. The world must be adapted to the law of unity—crisis consists in our refusal to follow the spirit of the new age.

WORLD UNITY DISCUSSION GROUPS

Many people, especially in the United States, feel the need of intellectual stimulus and a more adult approach to the special social problems of this troubled age. They have become uneasily aware of the fact that the possibilities of human intercourse are by no means exhausted by business contacts, golf, bridge, cocktail parties and casual conversation.

Unquestionably, every community, however small, contains matured men and women who crave the reinforcement and fulfillment of a congenial group which, without oppressive formality or the limitations and expense of an organized club, can permit a mutually helpful exchange of opinion on important current events and the general world outlook.

As a basis of common interest, a focal center for group thought, *World Unity Magazine* has a distinct field of usefulness. Its articles mirror the richly varied events and subjects of the day, but aim to set forth true principles without propaganda. It works for deeper understanding and not to influence belief or promote action.

One alert individual in a community at this time can render a very real service to his or her friends and associates by forming such a group and contributing the initial stimulus required to release the latent powers of group discussion and consultation. Each issue of *World Unity* will provide more than enough "starting points" for an interesting evening of free mental exchange.

In making this suggestion, *World Unity* has no thought of attempting to organize any groups of this nature that may develop. The dynamic of the project is that each group remain both informal and free to develop in its own way.

The real point is, whether we are right in assuming that America contains a great number of people who are unsatisfied by the present childish arrangements of human intercourse.

Address correspondence on this subject to Managing Editor, World Unity, 4 East 12th Street, New York, N. Y.

WORLD UNITY MEMORIAL

To DAVID STARR JORDAN

The name of David Starr Jordan has become associated with faith in the reality of world peace. His contribution to the peace ideal was made at the highest level of human achievement, through the power of a personality uniting scientific intelligence and spiritual aim. In his life and work an age striving to throw off the intolerable burden of organized conflict grew more conscious of its capacity for progress and more determined to attain the goal of cooperation and accord.

In order to give continuance to Dr. Jordan's vision and attitude, never more needed than in this period of confused purpose and ebbing courage, it is proposed by a number of his friends and associates to establish a World Unity Memorial to David Starr Jordan.

The purpose of this Memorial is to make possible the wider diffusion of Dr. Jordan's important statements on peace and international cooperation by magazine and pamphlet publication, in a form rendering them available to peace workers throughout the world, and to encourage the rise of the peace spirit among the new generation of college students.

It is the privilege of World Unity Magazine to serve as the organ of the David Starr Jordan Memorial, under the auspices of a Committee representing the scholarship of America, Europe and the East.

Friends of David Starr Jordan, and friends of world peace, may assist in the realization of the purpose of the Memorial by contributing toward the modest expenses involved. A contributing membership may be secured for five dollars; a student membership for two dollars; a life membership for ten dollars. Copies of all Memorial publications will be furnished members without charge.

In addition to the publication of David Starr Jordan's most important statements on the subject of peace, the Memorial will offer an annual prize for the best essay on world cooperation submitted by any college undergraduate.

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WORLD PROBLEMS

M. D. A. R. von Redlich

Foreword by His Excellency Antonio S. de Bustamente,
Judge of The Permanent Court of International Justice

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World League for Permanent Peace

This important work by the well known student of international affairs, M. D. A. R. von Redlich, is available to *World Unity* readers under a very advantageous arrangement which includes a yearly subscription to the magazine for the price of the book alone.

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